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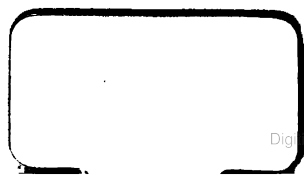
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*Boston Monday Lectures, Preludes, &c., for 1884.*

# DO WE NEED A NEW THEOLOGY?

WITH A CRITICISM OF

*The New Congregational Creed.*

BY THE

REV. JOSEPH COOK.

*INDEX, AND ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS,*

BY THE

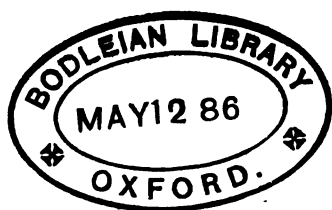
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## THE PRELUDE.

### THE DEATH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WHOM God crowns, let no man try to discrown. There lies dead on his shield in yonder street an unsullied soldier of unpopular reform, a spotlessly disinterested champion of the oppressed, the foremost orator of the English-speaking world in recent years, the largest and latest, let us hope not the last, of the Puritans, a servant of the Most High God, a man on the altar of whose heart the coals of fire were kindled by a breath from the Divine justice and tenderness. Wendell Phillips has gone, doubtless, to an incalculably great reward. He is with Garrison, and Sumner, and Lincoln now. He is in the company of Wilberforce and Clarkson. He has met Phocion, and Aristides, and Demosthenes, and Scipio, and the Roman Gracchi, and Howard, and John Brown, and Toussiant L'Ouverture. He is with Milton, and Cromwell, and Hampden, and Vane, and the Covenanters, and Pilgrim Fathers, and all the host of martyrs, who, in every century, have laid down their lives that the dolorous and accursed ages might a little change their course. With the approval of this company, what cares he for our praise or blame? He cared little for it in life. Fifty years hence history will not ask what Boston thinks of Wendell Phillips, but rather what he thought of Boston. We cannot crown him, the memory of his career crowns our civilisation.

There are three periods in Mr. Phillips's life—preparation, struggle, victory. His preparation extended from his birth, or rather from some generations before it—for he inherited ancestral merit of the highest type—to the Boston mob of 1835. This period included his boyhood in the historic streets of Boston; his education in a cultured home, and Boston schools, and Harvard University; his study of the law, and initial, reluctant practice of it. His struggle lasted thirty years, from 1835 to 1865—that is, from the time when he saw Mr. Garrison in danger of being murdered in your streets for anti-slavery opinions, to the day when it pleased Almighty Providence to

eradicate slavery from our nation. His victory was in the last nineteen years of his life, in which he walked among us, not without occupation, indeed, but with his great purpose so thoroughly accomplished that he seemed lonely in his triumphant and peaceful days.

This orator has no official position. Not the legislator's chair, not the pulpit, not the professor's or editor's seat, only the platform was open to him ; no adventitious aids account for his influence. Remember that Mr. Phillips was never in the employment of State, or Church, or school. He never sought with any genuineness of zeal, I think never with full purpose, any place within the gift of the people. He was a candidate once for the governorship of Massachusetts ; but he said he did not wish to be in the governor's chair. He used his candidacy as a weapon of agitation. A simple citizen all his days, without more wealth than was necessary to secure his independence of position, and with no business relations worth mentioning, his character and eloquence alone explain his place in history.

Is it not fair to assert that, without the forty years of this reformer's influence from the platform, our civilisation might possibly have sunk so low as to make a compromise with slavery? You affirm that slavery was not abolished in his way, that he was a disunionist for years, and that, perhaps the bitterness of his attack on human bondage precipitated the conflict between the North and the South. I maintain that slavery was abolished in Mr. Phillips's way ; for, after 1861, he was a defender of the Union and of all the great measures of the North in the period of the war and of reconstruction. But, as to the preceding period, are you sure that, if the brilliancy of his oratory, the intensity of his moral convictions, the weight of his conscience had not been thrown into the scale, we should have been ready when secession showed its head to crush it? Are you certain that the Statesmen who were safe men, would have brought us into that posture of soul in which such a degree of courage and insight became possible as to make the sacrifices of our War practicable by the will of the masses?

Mr. Phillips's ideal of his own life can be seen best in what he said of the platform : " We have four sources of education in this country," was one of his famous remarks ; " talk, literature, government, religion. The lyceum makes one of the most important elements in each. It is a church without a creed and with a constant rotation of clergymen. It teaches closer ethics than the pulpit."\* Forty years and nearly forty.

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\* "Speeches and Lectures, p. 246.

five this orator, unmatched on either side the sea, passed to and fro across the breadth of our continent, weaving together the sentiments of our great commonwealths into opposition to human bondage. It is sometimes said that Wesley and Whitefield, moving up and down the Atlantic coast as shuttles, wove together the sentiments of the thirteen colonies, and made union possible by creating a national spirit. We have no national daily journals, but we have national orators, men whose words are heard from Plymouth Rock to Golden Gate; and it is on a few men who reach the whole nation that we must depend for the unification of sentiment in great crises. It is true, the press echoes itself, and so fills the land, and on the highest matters is substantially a unit; but sometimes the press is not as courageous as the platform. In most great crises of unpopular reform, the platform takes the initiative. Especially in the anti-slavery contest was it notoriously true that the abolitionists' platform was vastly in advance of the press and of the pulpit. It was Mr. Phillips's oratory, as I think, which imparted, more than any other weapon in the hands of one man, anti-slavery zeal to the North, and gave to the commonwealths which resisted the rebellion such moral preparation as made their victory in the Civil War possible. With all the mistakes of the abolitionists, I believe that without them—nay, without this one leader of them—it is entirely possible that we might have lacked the courage necessary for the maintenance of the Union. Take away the career of the abolitionists, or even of this one man who led them, from American history, and it is quite possible that the union of the American Republic might have been destroyed. It is not too much to assert that but for the career of this man, who was almost a martyr, our liberty and union might to-day be in the jaws of the monster of slavery. His darts were cast among the earliest at this dragon, and I believe that none pierced more nearly to the vital parts. Certainly no man was more hated in the Gulf States than he, not even Mr. Garrison. His brilliancy drew to him secret intellectual support from the educated classes. The young men in the colleges were dazzled by Mr. Phillips's eloquence, as they were not usually by Mr. Garrison's. It is true that Mr. Phillips always placed Mr. Garrison at the front; and it is not for us lightly to differ from his judgment, which, undoubtedly, was an honest one, and not the result of mere modesty. Mr. Phillips was but a young man when Mr. Garrison was mobbed in Boston; and it was the sight of the mischief about to be done to the older person that brought the younger to his side. Nevertheless, as an incitement to the nation at large, Mr

Phillips, according to my conviction, has been quite as effective a spark of divine fire as Mr. Garrison. It was Mr. Phillips, quite as much as Mr. Garrison, who, in the long course of the anti-slavery discussion, put a soul beneath the ribs of our death.

Mr. Phillips was born in 1811. He joined the anti-slavery society in 1836; but his real membership in the anti-slavery ranks began from the time in which he saw Garrison mobbed in 1835. He became a supporter of the Union in his fiftieth year, 1861, and in that very year was himself mobbed in this city. He was twenty-six years old when he delivered his famous address at Faneuil Hall, on the murder of Lovejoy. He was seventy-three years old at his death. It may be said that from 1837 to his last hour he was a pillar of fire, through which God looked in the morning watch of better ages to come and troubled the host of his enemies and took off their chariot wheels.

Is it said that Mr. Phillips, after the victory of the great reform, the support of which was the chief object of his life, lost his occupation? Is it feared that he did not understand the new and more complicated public issues to which he gave attention? Slavery was a simple question, it has been affirmed, and labour reform, the topic of socialism, or of communism and of nihilism, are intricate matters. Did Mr. Phillips deserve this criticism? I hold that he had many other objects than the promotion of the anti-slavery cause. Here are twelve topics of reform which he discussed nearly all his life: Anti-slavery, woman's rights, temperance legislation, total abstinence, municipal misgovernment, the care of the insane, the Indian question, the Chinese question, labour and capital, finance, oppressed foreign nationalities, corruptions of the political party in power. Who does not recollect his chief opinions on all these themes? Is that a correct perspective which makes a division between his life before the war and that after it, and affirms that his final years showed a decline in his power of grasping great themes effectively and in the intellectual worth of his advocacy? I hold that the temperance reform is a simple issue, and that Mr. Phillips had very nearly complete mastery of it. Who had a greater mastery? If Providence crowned his opinions on the topic of anti-slavery, are you sure that Providence may not at last crown his opinions on the topic of the temperance reform? You thought him a fanatic on slavery; but history justified him. Although myself unable to advocate as advanced views as he held concerning woman's rights, I am not here to cast reproach on his record. I do

not care to obliterate anything he did on that theme. I believe the cause of woman's rights to be, on the whole, a simple issue, and I do not doubt that Mr. Phillips studied it as carefully as he did the anti-slavery agitation. Municipal misgovernment he discussed most acutely. Although, on that theme, we as yet are only at the commencement of a great contest that undoubtedly will occupy a large place in our political future, he has threaded a needle which reformers may well use to sew up the garments of our shame. I am willing to commit to the care of his great memory the Indian question and the Chinese. In his advanced years, he could not, of course, on this latter topic, go into prolonged agitation; but he has put himself on record as unflinchingly opposed to the provincial and barbaric views of the Pacific Coast. Three million freed men weep for him to-day. The oppressed peasants in Ireland and Russia know he was their friend. He deserves a monument at Dublin and St. Petersburg, as well as at Charleston and New Orleans. His form should stand in bronze at the Golden Gate as well as at the side of Plymouth Rock.

Let those who say Mr. Phillips did not understand the topic of labour and capital wait fifty years until Macaulay's Huns and Vandals appear on this continent, and then ask whether Wendell Phillips understood the necessities of the case. He was too radical a friend of the working man you think? He was an American. He helped to establish the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics, which has been imitated in many a commonwealth. No man's advice was more often sought than his by legislative committees, on topics of industrial reform. He was really one of the most cautious experimenters on the whole topic of labour and capital. He collected facts, he organised public effort in Massachusetts in such a way as to bring the real state of the case as to the working men before the people. Every factory child had in him a tender guardian. It is the most bitter calumny which calls him a friend of assassins, a supporter of regicides. He has uttered strong words on the duty of resisting tyrants, much stronger than many of us would justify. But you must remember his talent for invective. We must not think that, as cool policy, he would justify the assassination of an Emperor of Russia. He was only beginning the discussion of the vast topic of labour and capital. It is far too much to assert that he did not understand it, or that he misled public sentiment concerning it. It is true that, on the topic of finance his opinions seemed to the vast majority of his friends to be erroneous; if I may venture to state the fact, I found them not only erroneous but absurd. Nevertheless, I do not feel my-

self at all competent to affirm that Mr. Phillips did not understand this subject. It is altogether possible that I do not. He certainly had a right, in the name of his great career, to put forward very singular opinions and ask attention for them, and leave them to the verdict of time. We must not say that he was a tyro on this subject because his views did not coincide with ours. There was a day when we thought him a tyro on the topic of anti-slavery. As to the corruptions of the political party in power, do you say that he struck hands with demagogues? You said so on other topics earlier in his career, and yet you justify now many of the most extreme propositions he then defended. Let it not be forgotten that Mr. Phillips, in defending political movements most of us do not indorse, said that they were also supported by many very bad elements. He did not overlook the fact that what he believed to be the cause of the working man drew to its support evil forces. I admit that he kept queer company, but not that he was blind to the fact. He thought the corruptions of political parties in power should be exposed and extirpated even at the expense of a certain amount of alliance with questionable elements in political warfare.

It is palpable injustice to Mr. Phillips's memory to emphasize a few topics on which most of his friends disagreed with him, and forget the vast reforms on which his opinions, once scouted as utterly fanatical, have been justified by Almighty Providence itself. Here, at the edge of his open grave, let us look upon the crown which history has put on the head of this censor of his age, and remember that nearly every great reformer has made a few mistakes. Edmund Burke, in his last years, assailed the French Revolution in a style considered morbid, almost insane. People thought Edmund Burke had lost his balance of mind. A sensitive oratorical soul, it was said that he fell into the faults of the oratorical temperament. Do editors have no faults? Are there no mistakes natural to the journalistic temperament? If editors were obliged to stand out personally before their readers, and make themselves responsible for all their assertions; if the devious course of many a leading newspaper could be watched from year to year, without its mask of irresponsible anonymousness, should we not find it as easy to rake up a record against a great journal as against a great orator?

No doubt this orator's marvellous power of invective often led him into a vigour of speech almost inconsistent with the patrician courtesy which was a part of his being. He was a reformer in the press of battle. He spoke as one who is

obliged to command attention by the boldest exposure of the errors of his opponents. "Men blame us," he says, "for the bitterness of our language, the personality of our attacks. It results from our position. The great mass of the people will never be made to stay and argue a long question. They must be made to feel it through the hides of their idols. It is on this principle that every great reform must take for its text the mistakes of great men. God gives us great scoundrels for texts to anti-slavery sermons." Respectability said to Mr. Phillips: "You shall not have a hearing." Whereupon he let fly the silver arrows of criticism of a Webster and a Seward, and obtained a hearing by smiting the idols of respectability. His criticisms of public men contain no personal malice. Many of them history has justified.

My conviction is that most of the newspapers that have criticised Mr. Phillips have been at fault in matters of fact oftener than he was in proportion to the number of times they have spoken. On the edges of his argument, speaking in the heat of debate, he might now and then let drop a statement that would not bear the microscope and scalpel. But in the central ground of his discussion, on points essential to his argument, he was not only accurate, but vitally sound. He knew how to choose facts that would cut and burn, and to make an impression that God could indorse. This is a kind of insight not too often possessed on the platform; and when it is possessed, the courage to use it does not always go with it.

Mr. Phillips's oratory, as a general verdict of the best judges seems to assert, is not equalled by that of any one now living. John Bright is commonly spoken of in England as the foremost orator of the British islands. His power of invective is not equal to that of Mr. Phillips. The idiomatic grace, clearness and beauty of his style may, perhaps, be as remarkable as the corresponding trait in the language of the Boston orator; but there is not as much incisiveness, not as much divine fire in the periods of John Bright as in those of Phillips. There are not as many epigrammatic passages, not as many historic allusions illuminating each theme in hand, not as much classical learning. John Bright, indeed, would not claim to be Mr. Phillips's equal in classical training or in experience before popular audiences. Mr. Bright is a parliamentarian; he is a popular orator also; and in the combination of these two careers has excelled Mr. Phillips because his field has been broader. As a parliamentarian Mr. Bright

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\* "Speeches and Lectures," p. 48.

is, of course, superior to Mr. Phillips, but perhaps not to what Mr. Phillips would have been with a parliamentary opportunity equal to Mr. Bright's. On the whole we may pronounce the book of "Speeches and Lectures," by Mr. Phillips, to be the most suggestive contribution that has been made to the American oratory records since the death of Daniel Webster. It is a lofty estimate which places this contribution in the scale of value above Mr. Everett's or Mr. Sumner's. Let us mention all the great orators with due honour; but when we ask for the noblest thing in oratory we must speak of God in man; and what orator had in him more of God than this anti-slavery reformer?

Quintilian says that extemporaneous speech is the top and radiance of all eloquence. Mr Phillips was an extemporaneous speaker of the most finished merit. There are four ways of speaking—written, extemporaneous, *memoriter* and mixed. You may write everything or write nothing. You may memorize matter or words, or both. You may combine these methods in such a manner as to secure the chief advantages of each. The mixed method was Mr. Phillips's mode when he could choose his own way of preparation, and this method is undoubtedly the best of the four for such effects as he wished to produce.

He was always a gentleman. He always spoke as at once a cultured person and a popular orator. There was nothing prim and stiff about him, and yet there was nothing careless. He was very far on the one hand from having a pomp or a stateliness which repelled people. He was very far, on the other, from talking down to the people. Some of the most subtly important of his oratorical maxims appear in these sentences of his in a letter of 1868 to a college student: "I think practice with all kinds of audiences the best teacher you can have in public speaking. Think out your subjects carefully. Read all you can relative to them. Fill your mind, and then talk simply and naturally to an audience. Forget altogether that you are to make a speech, or that you are making one. Absorb yourself into the idea that you are to strike a blow, carry out a purpose, effect an object, recommend a plan; then, having forgotten yourself, you will be likelier to do your best for your purpose. Study the class of books your mind likes. When you go outside of this rule, study those which give you facts on your chosen subjects, and those which you find most suggestive. Remember to talk *up* to your audience, and not *down* to it. The commonest audience can relish the best thing you can say, if you know how to say it properly. Be simple; be in earnest."



But you say that, after all, Mr. Phillips was not a logician. The seer is the logician who melts his logic in the fire of his emotion, and Mr. Phillips in oratory was a seer. His epigrams, his historical allusions, his anecdotes, his powerful passages of invective are often arguments on fire. Whoever wishes to form himself on the best model of popular eloquence that America has yet given to the world—except only the best passages of Patrick Henry and the immortal address of Lincoln at Gettysburg—must spend days and nights on what poor remnants we have left of Mr. Phillips's anti-slavery orations and speeches. Here are coals of fire lit by the breath of God. Let young men come to this altar and light their torches and carry them out into the dark places of our civilisation.

Boston mobbed Wendell Phillips. Let this city now proudly, reverently, and yet penitently, build his monument. *Æschines* said that the character of a city is determined by the character of the men it crowns. This American reformer's hands were clean from any stain of gold. He did not love place or pelf. It was to plain living and high thinking that he consecrated his life. His gains were given away in silent philanthropy. It is certain that the last person whose interest he thought of was himself. That unspeakably sacred relation of his to an invalid wife—how dare we name it in public over this open grave except as we look into the coffin through tears? More than once he said: "She was my inspiration." Was this the chief secret of his power? This man almost never unveiled to mortal gaze the holy of holies of his spirit, in which he dwelt alone with God. He said at Theodore Parker's funeral: "Mine is not Parker's faith. Mine is the old faith of New England. I heard the authoress of the 'Battle Hymn of the Republic' say last night to a hushed assembly: 'Wendell Phillips was orthodox of the orthodox.'" He would not worship with the churches of Boston, but, in the darkest days of the struggle with slavery, he and some of those who were most nearly of his own heart, were accustomed to meet on the Sabbath in private homes to observe the holy service of the Lord's Supper. The faith of this servant of humanity was not a creed merely, but a life. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord; for they rest from their labours and their works do follow them." In this career the faith explains the works. By birth an aristocrat, by conviction a democrat, by faith a theocrat, Wendell Phillips was by Christian necessity a reformer. Let us look into our own duties through the lenses of these tears. We all are passing to the majority of souls.

Lincoln, Sumner, Garrison, Emerson, Phillips have gone—and we are going! God grant that we who are alive may sell our existence as dearly as this holy soul did his!

Humanity sweeps onward. Where to-day the martyrs stand,  
On the morrow crouches Judas, with the silver in his hand;  
Far in front the cross stands ready, and the crackling fagots burn,  
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return  
To gather up the scattered ashes into history's golden urn.

### QUESTIONS.

After full deliberation, I have resolved to be audacious enough to agree to answer several written questions each Monday on this platform. The replies must be very brief; for this interlude is intended to occupy only ten minutes. I do not agree to answer at any one lecture more than twelve questions. I beg you to put written inquiries into the question box at the door, or send them to the platform, or give them to any of the ushers or any of the managers of the Monday Lectureship. They will all receive attention, as will those which I receive on lecture tours, East and West. The questions must be free from personalities and on topics of public importance, and within the usual lines followed by the Monday Lectureship. Toward the close of the course I expect to ask the committee to take the questions I have not selected, and select for me those which they think should be answered by way of a postlude, or otherwise.

1. "*What are the prospects of constitutional prohibition in the Western States?*"

I have come from three months' travel as a lecturer in the Mississippi Valley, and standing here in the commonwealth of the East so near to great and corrupt cities, I feel much like a barbarian on the topic of constitutional prohibition. One hardly dares lift up his head or voice or heart for that reform in Boston or New York or Philadelphia; and yet on the prairies of Iowa and Kansas, and even on the fatlands of the new mother of presidents—Ohio—it is very easy to stand erect on this theme. The West is immensely in advance of us in the advocacy of strong measures of temperance legislation. It seems to be thought here in some circles, commonly called religious, that we must not advocate a reform until we are sure it can succeed to-morrow. I am willing to advocate a reform if I see fair prospects for its success next week or next year. Constitutional prohibition is a rising tide, and has already submerged Kansas and Iowa and very nearly Ohio. There have been twenty months of consti-

tutional prohibition in Kansas, and lately full reports have been received from sixty-six out of eighty-one counties in that state as to its operation. In these the number of saloons has been reduced from 708 to 313. More than half of the latter are in the corrupt town of Leavensworth. In 41 counties of Kansas there is not one saloon. In the district courts there have been 460 cases against liquor sellers tried, resulting in 351 convictions, or five out of seven. In the justice courts there were 378 convictions out of 572 cases, three out of four. The fines have amounted to 95,000 dollars, and 81 saloon-keepers have been imprisoned. In 51 counties prohibition is reported as growing in favour, in seven as growing weaker, and in eight as at a standstill (see *New York Independent* for January 31st). In Iowa, after a heated political canvass, prohibition in its constitutional form has carried the state. I regard constitutional prohibition as merely a form of local option. I pity the man who is so benighted and belated as not to think the people have a right to local option on the topic of temperance. In Iowa the party which rules the state has one of the noblest mottoes that any political contest has recently thrown before the people. I found it impossible to quote that motto to any audience that I saw in that commonwealth without calling out a storm of applause. It is a motto which I hope will yet become national: "A school-house on every hill and no saloon in the valley."

2. "*What are the needs of Alaska?*"

Laws, missionaries, schools. The sun first, you may think; but the isothermal line which runs through Sitka passes through Lake Superior. Up to within a few weeks Alaska had no governor, no schools, no laws for the making of contracts or the collection of debts. After sixteen years' cruel delay, the last intelligence is that the laws of Oregon have been extended over the frozen foundling that has been waiting so long without a covering on our North Pacific threshold.

3. "*Is not the influence of the Brahmo Somaj in India really hostile in its spirit to Christian missions?*"

Yes and no. The destructive work of the Brahmo Somaj is favourable to Christian missions. The constructive work is favourable or unfavourable, according to the character of the particular branch of the Brahmo Somaj of which you may be speaking. There are three great societies known as the Brahmo Somaj—one of them the original society; the second the progressive, led by Keshub Chunder Sen; and the other the popular universal Somaj. Except in the progressive branch, the work of the Brahmo Somaj is little above the level of an

icy Socinianistic form of theism. In the progressive Brahmo Somaj Socinianism is heated. Theism was a divine flame in the soul of Keshub Chunder Sen. Such a form of theism as he held I believe to be very useful in its destructive effect as against caste and materialism and child marriages, but, if not developed into pure Christianity, a hindrance to missions, just as the preaching of devout Socinianism in India would be a hindrance; and the more fervent the preaching the greater the hindrance. It was hoped, however, that Keshub Chunder Sen was approaching Christianity more nearly every year. Out of spiritual fervour like his would be naturally developed the sense of a need which only Christianity can satisfy.

4. *"Is there any substantial religious advantage in the Brahmo Somaj, except in the relation of its work to social amelioration?"*

I believe there is a vast religious advantage in devout theism, even if you go no further. But if theism degenerate into deism and this into agnosticism, I am not certain that it is better than the loftiest and purest paganism. Kesub Chunder Sen found Martineau and Channing and Parker too cold to satisfy his highest moods.

5. *"What is to be expected in the matter of Australian confederation?"*

That all the islands south of the Equator will ultimately belong to a system of British states in Australasia. An immense revolution is going forward under the Southern Cross and is well worth the attention of statesmen and philanthropists.

6. *"Has the day of prayer for colleges gone out of fashion?"*

Not in the highest places of our culture. President McCosh says that there is very little skepticism at Princeton; for there science and religion are married. I believe that the colleges of the land are to-day not in as devout a condition as they have been often since the opening of the century, but that on the whole the foremost colleges are not in a condition that ought to alarm us in contrast with their past state. The proportion of college students to our whole population has doubled since 1830.

7. *"Which is the foremost of the German universities as a theological centre?"*

With great respect for Evangelical Halle and Berlin, I should say Leipsic.

8. *"What is the position of this foremost of German religious centres on the topic of probation after death?"*

I can answer this question only by reading you the opinions of the foremost systematic theologian of Leipsic, Professor Luthardt. I am able to give a brief reply; for I hold in my hand his famous volume entitled "The Saving Truths of

Christianity." I beg leave to call your most serious attention to these words, representing, as I suppose, the foremost evangelical culture of German theological circles :

"We may deceive men, we may delude ourselves, but in God's presence every deception vanishes and all self-delusion ceases.

"Who will be able to bear the presence of God, the presence of inflexible truth? Only they who have here become the friends of God; for the great distinction will be between those who have been His friends and those who have lived without Him. *But this is decided in this life.* 'It is appointed unto all men once to die, but after this the judgment' (Heb. ix. 27). That is to say: *the decision takes place in this life. We are not to comfort ourselves with the hope of being able to retrieve there what we have neglected here.* The very purpose for which this life in the flesh is bestowed upon us is that our lot may be therein decided. The design of the manifold trials and duties of this life is that through them and in them we may seek and find God. *Though the moral consciousness of a man may seem to have been ever so slightly developed, though the life of an individual may have been passed in ever so dream-like a manner, there is still that in the depths of every man's heart which is decisive.* It is the fact whether God has or has not been the portion of his soul which will determine his eternal lot; for *he who has not found communion with God here, will not attain it there.*" \*

9. "What are the prospects of the New Departure?"

The New Departure is an old failure. The history of the Broad Church in Europe has been one of spiritual barrenness.

If a great revival occurs in the American churches, the prospect of Broad Church latitudinarian theology will be exceedingly poor. In a torpid, chilled, liberalistic state of the churches these prospects might be good. Professor Hodge asks, significantly: "Where are the revivalists and the missionaries of the New Departure?"

Of the seven theological seminaries of the Congregational denomination in the United States, that one (and there is but one) which lies under suspicion of favouring the New Departure has the least number of students in proportion to the number of its instructors. According to the official statement in the "Congregational Year Book for 1884," which I hold in my hand, there were in 1882 and 1883 twelve professors at

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\* Luthardt: "The Saving Truths of Christianity," p. 300.

Andover Theological Seminary, and a total of but 25 students. Meanwhile, Chicago Theological Seminary had 7 theological professors and 43 students; Hartford, 7 professors and 48 students; Oberlin, 7 professors and 40 students; Yale, 7 professors and 94 students. Lord Bacon said that the best materials for prophecy are the unforced opinions of young men.

There is reason to believe that a few, and but a few persons are engaged in a vigorous attempt, as yet largely secret, to commit the Congregationalist body to a creed consistent with the hypothesis of probation after death, or with the toleration of the assumption that the issues of the final judgment are not determined by the deeds done in the body. One of the foremost editors favoring the New Departure is believed to be an annihilationist, and to be labouring for the adoption of such a creed as may harmonize with the exegetical lunacy of this position, just now a passing fashion in certain circles among Congregationalists in England.

10. *"Why has Professor Park's pamphlet on the Associated creed of Andover Theological Seminary not been answered?"*

Because it is unanswerable. Even Professor Hodge, of Princeton, publishes the opinion that this argument on the legal aspects of the Andover controversy is wholly irrefutable. He says the reading of it is an education. This opinion prevails widely among the most powerful minds inside the denomination and outside of it, East and West. Grave legal opinion is disturbed by even the suspicion of malfeasance in the administration of trusts, and is made indignant wherever there is proof of it. Philanthropic opinion is in the same attitude. Every endowed institution in the land is concerned in having trusts administered strictly according to legal and moral obligation. Who will give bequests if it cannot be known what will become of them? The evasiveness of Professor Park's opponents in this discussion is natural, but suicidal.

## THE LECTURE.

### DO WE NEED A NEW THEOLOGY?

Only a saving theology is worth saving. The final theology of the world will be written by the iron finger of the law of the survival of the fittest. Perhaps this stern instrument has traced many legible syllables already. In the wide field of the Christian contest with unbelief, what are the positions that have seen battle but not defeat? In the struggle for existence, what theological propositions have approved themselves age after age in the presence of self-evident truth? What forms of faith and practice, generation after generation, have satisfied the depths of the human conscience, when it is the most thoroughly enlightened and aroused? I hope that I am progressive; I know that I am conservative; my wish is to be both progressive and conservative in theology as in everything else. Do we need a New Theology? What shall be the New Theology? What are the tests of progress in theology? Who shall lead the New Theology? If we were to sweep away the past as so much obstruction, and deliver ourselves from all allegiance to creeds or ecclesiastical organizations and determine anew what to believe as to religious truth how should we construct a theology?

I. *On what facts may legitimate demands for a New Theology be founded?*

Do not be startled if I admit that there are facts justifying a call for a readjustment of several theological doctrines. I shall ask in a moment what are the fancies on which illegitimate demands for a New Theology have been based. Allow me first to name the circumstances, which, at the

present hour of history, so near the opening of the twentieth century, appear to me to call for a theology in some particulars new, not perhaps in its central positions, but in many of the forms of its expression.

1. The providential necessity of choosing now a religion not for one sect or nation only, but for the whole world.

2. The advance of the study of comparative religion.

3. The progress of Biblical criticism.

4. The appearance of a Revised Version of the Old and New Testament in the most important language now spoken.

5. The growth of self-government in the Church, and of the free exercise of the right of private judgment among the masses of Christian and non-Christian populations.

6. The universal demand for the application of the scientific method of definition, and induction to all topics, however sacred.

7. The progress of the physical sciences.

8. The advance of psychological and ethical science.

9. The alleged existence of modern evidence of the supernatural.

10. The recent triumphs of Christian scholarship in the field of research as to the proofs of the historic reality of miracles recorded in the New Testament Scriptures.

11. A growing demand for the application to theology of those tests of truth which are supplied by the spiritual and intuitive faculties and the regenerated conscience, in distinction from the logical power.

12. The necessity of making theology a balanced system, not fractional but integral, in both its methods of research and its inculcations.

13. The aggressiveness of materialistic and agnostic philosophies.

14. The decadence of strife within the Church as to many points on which sectarian divisions have existed.

15. The growing tendency among evangelical bodies to



unite their forces in aggressive religious work and to emphasize the hidden half of Christian unity.

16. The certainty that Christian faith and practice have not yet been lifted into entire harmony with the tone of the Christian Scriptures, and that the work most needed in the Church at large to-day is the Christianization of Christianity.

In this course of lectures I begin precisely where it was my fortune to close in the last course, and assume now only what I hope was proved then, that the whole world is henceforth to be permeated by its best thought, and that there are and can be no foreign lands.

The most impressive secular circumstance calling for a readjustment of theological doctrines, or a reform of the statement of many of them, is the fact that we must now choose a theology not for ourselves only but for the world. Whatever masters the Occident in theology and philosophy will master the Orient. Whatever succeeds under the Northern Bear will succeed under the Southern Cross. Whatever really establishes itself on the basis of sufficient reasons on the Rhine, the Elbe, or the Thames, will establish itself first or last on the banks of the Hudson and the Mississippi, the Hoangho, the Indus and the Ganges.

Meanwhile let us not forget that what can appear so to establish itself will for a time gain wide currency. Nothing great can now be done in a corner. The modern world has no corners. Japan is nearer to us than England was until the last generation. The works of the foremost rationalists are being introduced into the college courses of Japan and India, and even of Australia. It has become one of the most pressing exigencies of our time to decide whether the highest regions of culture shall be given over to rationalism or to Christianity, in reorganized hermit nations. This question ought to be decided within the next half century. Infidelity will have conquered the university life of India and Japan before that time in such a way as to hold it for

perhaps a long period if Christianity does not occupy the new field speedily.

In this presence I need not dwell on the facts that every man now thinks in theology for himself, that every enlightened mind demands the application of the scientific method to all subjects, that there has been made within fifty years a really large addition to our knowledge in the department of Biblical criticism, that no one system of theology can claim to be a perfectly balanced scheme of thought, and that there is a growing spirit of Christian unity. Perhaps the time has come for us to gain something by re-adjustment, not so much of our doctrines, as of the form of their expression. In this course of lectures I mean to hold that question open, not because, in the depths of my soul, any doubt exists as to scholarly theological positions, for no such doubt is there, but because I wish to awaken attention to the demand now heard in so many quarters for a New Theology, and to make use of that demand for the loftiest purposes of religious reform.

II. *For what purposes have illegitimate demands for a New Theology been made?*

If I mistake not, I shall offend many by reading this list of fancies; for it contains a description of some of the most mischeivous portions of religious agitation in our day. *A New Theology has been and is, but ought never to be demanded—*

1. To make religion easy and fashionable, and lessen the breadth of the distinction between the Church and the world.

2. To satisfy the demands of state churches nominally including the whole population to which they minister, whether Christian or non-Christian.

3. To effect a multitudinist union of believers and unbelievers.

4. To advance merely denominational and sectarian ideas.

5. To gratify the idiosyncracies of one-sided and narrow minds, whether devout or undevout.

6. To satisfy the literary, or scientific, or political, or social spirit of the hour.

7. To satisfy semi-Universalists and Universalists.

8. To satisfy Annihilationists.

9. To satisfy Unitarians.

10. To satisfy mere Theists.

11. To harmonise theology with raw speculations in Biblical criticism.

12. To avoid asserting the supernatural in any sense.

13. To avoid asserting the supernatural in any but a Neo-Platonic and mystic sense.

14. To gratify the love of change.

God deliver us from being so caught by the spirit of restlessness as to allow the fangs of these fancies to seize and poison our souls !

III. *What tests must any New Theology meet in order to deserve acceptance ?*

1. It must effect deliverance of individuals and of communities from the love of sin and the guilt of sin.

2. It must have Biblical authority and the Biblical tone.

3. It must be in harmony with all self-evident truth.

4. It must awaken evangelistic zeal.

5. It must be in an attitude of mental hospitality to all severe truths as well as to all tender truths, to science as well as to revelation, to the Holy Spirit in the conscience as well as to the intellectual laws of the logical faculties, and to the beautiful as well as to the good.

IV. *What will be the leading traits of any New Theology that we can adopt in consistency with the demands of these tests and of the wants of the age ?*

Truth, Comprehensiveness, Balance, Fruitfulness.

I am approaching the difficult question as to what are the true signs of progress in theology ; but here and now I only open my case and state what I hope to prove.

It is the business of both philosophy and theology, as of all life in the Spirit to echo God. An echo is not divisive of the voice it represents. It has no selective, self-assertive power. And so the Church ought to utter and embody not a fractional but an integral orthodoxy. It should tell the truth and the whole truth and nothing but the truth concerning religion. My central thought is that orthodoxy is not worthy of the name unless it is an echo of God; not merely the truth, and nothing but the truth, but the whole of the truth as apprehended by both the rational and the spiritual faculties.

Can we find in our time a theology meeting these tests? If we cannot find one, can we invent one? Let no passing fancy mislead you. Let God be your guide in the building of the vessel in which you expect to cross the ocean of life, and enter eternity without wreck. Use no timber that will not bear storm. Never sleep while you skirt the reefs.

## THE PRELUDE.

### WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH MORMONISM?

Congress has the same power in Utah as in the District of Columbia. Nevertheless there exists in the Basin States and territories an American Bluebeard's chamber, full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness. For twenty-five years the American Bluebeard has been standing with one hand on the locked door of his chamber of horrors, and with the other has been knocking for admittance to a place among the legislators of the foremost Christian republic on earth. Bluebeard wants a seat in the Senate. He is becoming importunate.

As to the pest-house ruled by the American Bluebeard Mr. Beecher says: "Hands off." President Arthur says: "Hands on." "Use only moral measures against Mormonism," says the former. "Use moral measures," says the latter, "but the stoutest legal measures, also." In order to enable us to decide which of these policies to adopt, I raise this morning three questions:

1. What is likely to happen in Utah if polygamy be allowed to run its course through ten or twenty more years?

2. What is likely to happen in Washington in connection with the political power which Utah must gradually acquire?

3. *Are moral measures only, or such as schools and churches are now using in Utah in a manner so praiseworthy, likely to be rapid enough in their operation to meet the exigencies of the Mormon problem?* Will moral measures alone abolish polygamy before Utah has acquired political power enough to demand admission to the Union and dangerously tempt rival parties to grant it?

Mr. Beecher says that missions are effective in India and Zululand. Why should they not, therefore, he asks, be effective in Utah? If we depend on missions to regenerate the world, why should we not depend on missions, with accompanying schools and the advance of our better civilisation westward, to reform Utah? Why not treat the heathenism

of the Basin States as we treat that of India and Zululand? The answer to this question is exceedingly simple and easy. India is not applying for admission to the Union. Zululand is not knocking for the privilege of entering the American Senate and House of Representatives. We have no direct or indirect authority over Zululand. We have complete authority over Utah. We are not responsible at all for the polygamy of Asia or Africa. We are, every one of us, no matter to what political party we belong, more or less directly responsible for the atrocities of Mormonism in Utah. Mormonism is disloyal. It systematically tramples on the authority of the United States. The controlling fact in the Mormon problem is that it is the duty of the National Government to secure the execution of its own laws in Utah. The political side of the case cannot be ignored. We have made great mistakes already as to Mormonism, through procrastination. We have been expecting polygamy to vanish; but it is to-day a greater danger than ever. Thirty years we have been hoping to see the advance of civilisation eradicate it; but, as Mr Beecher himself says, Mormonism is now a thoroughly organized system; all its parts are perfectly in place; it is as solid as a locomotive. Is it likely that merely moral measures will abolish polygamy in ten years or twenty? In case polygamy is not abolished within a decade or two of years, the following results are likely to occur in the history of the Basin States:

1. There will be a population of from half to a whole million wedded to the Mormon system.

2. This population will be under the control of a priestly despotism, and, very largely, will practise polygamy.

You say there are only 15,000 among the Mormons who are actual polygamists. Yes; but they are an aristocracy of the harem. They are a despotism having the power of life and death. They make the practice of polygamy a condition of political and ecclesiastical advancement. They not only control the water-courses in Utah, and so the harvests, but also the tithing system and the police system of spies, and that inconceivably outrageous system of blood atonement, by which apostates may be murdered with impunity. Cut one of its tap-roots, polygamy, and you do not eradicate from the Basin States the whole, perhaps not the half of the Mormon mischief, unless you cut the other tap-root, priestly despotism. Immorality and disloyalty are the twin vices of Mormonism. The Endowment House oaths are notoriously disloyal. The Mormon is to be first faithful to his priesthood, and afterward, and

a long way afterward, faithful to the United States. Unless you seize upon the funds of the Endowment House, as it is now proposed to do in Congress, you do not cut the second of the great tap-roots of Mormonism.

3. Vast wealth will be accumulated and will become more thoroughly concentrated in the hands of a polygamous aristocracy, as the Mormon cancer spreads. In ten or twenty years there will be money enough under control of the aristocracy of the harem to buy a large number of politicians.

4. With a quarter of million people wedded to polygamy, and united under astute and wealthy leaders in the purpose of securing a State Government, Utah will clamour for admission to the Union. It will be said, and said with justice, that it is arbitrary in the highest degree to keep Utah, with 250,000 people, out of the Union, while Nevada and other territories have been admitted with 40,000 or 50,000. The interests of the nation, it will be urged, require her admission.

5. It must be remembered that the Mormon vote is already a very considerable political power in Idaho; some say it is a controlling power, and is acquiring influence in Arizona and Colorado. The party that secures for itself the Mormon vote is likely to gain strength in four of the future States of the Union.

Is there bait enough in the Basin States to tempt the political foxes at Washington? It takes but very little bait to tempt them.

6. The Mormon lobby in Washington, as you may learn, if you go to that city and listen to its subterranean conspiracies, with your ear on the ground, is promising that, if Utah is admitted to the Union, her territory will be divided into four States, and their votes given to the political party which connives at her admission as a reward for that piece of political rascality. The party that most fears defeat in any closely contested election will be greatly tempted by such a bribe. By great effort, we have kept the Mormon question out of a national political canvass once. It was the vigour and uprightness of President Hayes's denunciations of Mormonism which kept Utah from coming before Congress for admission just before the Presidential election of 1880. We are now in another year, in which a Presidential election is to occur, and with this and every succeeding Presidential election, especially if the prospect is that the contest will be close, there will be a clamour for the admission of Utah and the giving of her vote to the party that admits her.

7. If Utah is ordinarily shrewd, and if politicians are ordi-

narily corrupt, she may be brought into the Union under a constitution abolishing polygamy. You think that would settle the case? I have spoken previously on this platform at great length, to show that we should only put our foot into a trap if we were to vote to admit Utah with a constitution abolishing polygamy, while polygamy has yet control of the Endowment Houses. The mighty funds in the hands of the polygamous aristocracy, their power over their own followers would endure.

8. Once within the Union, Utah would be under the broad shield of State rights. Congress would have no power to interfere with her local institutions any more than it had to touch slavery in the Southern States. The dominant priesthood would pass such laws as would impair the value of all Gentile property; would probably starve out the schools which the New West Education Committee has founded; and, in short, would prevent the application to Mormonism of those missionary agencies on which you rely. Polygamy itself, without amendment to the national Constitution forbidding it, might easily be restored.

Are we so artless, are we so indifferent to evidence, are we so juvenile and idiotic as to believe that a great political temptation is not rising? Who does not see that we are drifting into the necessity of armed interference with Mormonism? I wish to avoid war; I believe in the schools and the churches; but, as I do not believe the schools and the churches can eradicate polygamy swiftly enough to prevent its growth to such a height as to bring this great political temptation upon us, I am in favour of President Arthur's policy of applying to the eradication of polygamy the very stoutest constitutional measures that can be brought to bear.

What will be the effect of the schools and churches in the next ten years in Utah? I have no doubt schools and churches will abolish Mormonism at some time before the Millennium; but long before that time it will be such a political power that it can laugh at the ordinary efforts of schools and churches. Keep in mind constantly nearly all the good land in Utah is now taken up by Mormons themselves. The best water-courses having been occupied, I suppose that Mormon emigrants in large numbers will flow off from the territory of Utah into adjoining territories hereafter. Indeed, the fact now is that most of the Mormons who are brought from the Old World do not go to Utah. The good lands there are so occupied that accessions to the Mormon population pass into Arizona and Idaho and are poisoning the whole region adjacent to the polygamous territory. This process will go on.



Remember, also, that the conversion of a town, like Salt Lake City, to Gentile ideas is not the conversion of the rural population. Your schools your missionaries take hold of the chief centres of population very vigorously. But the cities might be converted to Gentile ways and the rural population in the outskirts of that vast region left under the power of the priesthood nevertheless.

You cannot throw an unlimited mining population into Utah. There is no prospect that the progress of churches and schools alone in ten years, in abolishing Mormonism, will be such as to prevent enormous danger from the political temptation to which I have asked your attention. The time is hastening. Utah has already 150,000 people and only 10,000 or 12,000 Gentiles. The whole region there will very soon, before you and I are very much older, have half a million people wedded to the Mormon priesthood, taking the disloyal Endowment House oaths, and practising in secret, if our soldiers do not watch them, the blood atonement, the killing of apostates as the means of saving their souls. More than 600 known murders, under this principle of blood atonement, have stained our records; and there is not an instance of a prosecution for any such murder.

What remedies are we to adopt? The moral, the legal, the military are open to our choice; and it is because I believe the moral, however important, are too slow for the case, and because I hope the military may not be needed and wish to avoid the application of them, that I insist on President Arthur's remedies.

What does President Arthur wish to do? Something unconstitutional, Senator Edmunds says. I respect Senator Edmunds even on this question, and do not wonder that, by his position, many are convinced that it would be unconstitutional to abolish the territorial government of Utah and rule it under a commission appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. But, if you please, there are two great precedents in favour of such an arrangement. The first is Louisiana. When she was a territory—and you remember how vast she was—we governed her by a commission appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. The second is the District of Columbia, embracing now about 170,000 people, or more than Utah. There was something like a House of Legislation erected in the District of Columbia in the year 1871. It did not work well. Congress abolished it in 1874 and appointed a commission to take charge of the entire District. For ten years that commission has ruled over the President himself, the Supreme Court and Senators and Representatives.

This scheme has worked well. I believe there are only three men in the commission ; but it is appointed by both parties in Congress. Nobody doubts that Congress has the constitutional right thus to rule the District of Columbia ; and who is there here that will affirm, as a point of law, that we have not as much authority in Utah as we had in Louisiana and as we have to-day in the District of Columbia ?

But Senator Edmunds says that this is a very severe measure ; that it confuses the innocent with the guilty. Yes, but the innocent wish to be confused for a while with the guilty, and to be protected in that way. Precisely this measure is what is called for by the innocent ; and this very significant fact is my chief argument in favour of it. What do we know of Mormonism compared with those who have lived in conflict with it in Utah for years ? The difference between a distant and a near view of a foreign country I have had some occasion to study ; and I assure you that no country that I ever visited seemed to me so different on a near view from what it had appeared to me on a distant view, as did Utah. The Federal Judges at Salt Lake City, the ladies of the Anti-Polygamy Society, the foremost editors and preachers and educators, are all rejoiced at the propositions of President Arthur. When Mr. Beecher says "Hands off from Mormonism !" the ablest men in Utah have difficulty in keeping hands off from him. Let us not forget the superb anti-slavery record of this orator, whose zeal for reform seems to wane as his years advance. Once he sent Sharp's rifles to Kansas ; why is he not sharp enough to-day to avoid the necessity of ultimately sending Sharp's rifles to Utah ? Let us have the stoutest constitutional measures applied to the eradication of Mormonism, and we shall not need the rifles ; but without the legal remedies we shall at last need the guns.

The editor of the *Salt Lake City Tribune* said to me that, if Utah were admitted to the Union, even with a constitution prohibiting polygamy, there would be such trickery practised afterward that his property would not be worth a dollar in five years. Most of the Gentile population would, undoubtedly, emigrate, if Utah were admitted to the Union, even with a constitution abolishing polygamy providing polygamy itself had not lost its power in the Endowment Houses.

What more, then, do we need, besides President Arthur's scheme ? The subtlest and most efficient proposal concerning Mormonism has come from a Massachusetts leader, whom may God bless, Senator Hoar. You may think his plan too severe ; but remember that the judiciary committee has approved it. I

respect the newspapers, of course ; I have a great respect for the platform ; but I have a greater respect for the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States, especially when it advocates a measure somewhat contrary to general public sentiment and on the side of righteousness. Senator Hoar proposes that a commission be appointed to take over the property of the organization called the Mormon Church, and to apply to the purposes of supporting common schools in this polygamous territory the funds which have been collected contrary to law and in excess of authority, in the Mormon Endowment Houses. That is the most deadly blow that polygamy could receive, as I think, because the tap-root of the priestly despotism would be cut by it ; and until you cut that root it will do very little good to cut the other. The two roots, I insist on it, must be cut—polygamy and the disloyal despotism possessing and exercising the power of life and death, and enriching itself by the tithes wrung from an oppressed population.

Remember, yet further, that Congress, when once Utah is admitted, should have authority to put down polygamy even in a state. As Congress would have no power to do this in the present form of our Constitution, I am in favour of what has already been proposed in Congress ; and I am willing, so far as my influence goes, to be considered fanatical, if you please, in supporting an amendment to the Constitution, abolishing polygamy throughout all our territories.

Do you say that there is no need of agitation on such a subject? My sweet, surprising friends! I know that Congress has passed a law prohibiting polygamy in Utah. I know that the states prohibit polygamy ; but let Utah once come in with a constitution abolishing polygamy, and then how easy, in the practice of ordinary political rascality, to pass such regulations as would reinstate polygamy, in fact though not in form ; what could Congress do? Nothing at all, as the Constitution now stands. But if we had an amendment covering this subject Congress could interfere and thus prevent the larger part of the mischief that might come from the unwary admission of Utah to the circle of the states.

In view of these answers to my three questions, I summarise the whole case by affirming that we need three things besides the churches and the schools :

1. A territorial commission, such as President Arthur recommends.
2. A sequestration of the funds of the Mormon Endowment Houses, such as Senator Hoar recommends.

3. A constitutional amendment putting Congress into authority over polygamy, even after Utah shall have become a state.

Even under these measures polygamy would not be speedily uprooted. Minor arrangements as to oaths and juries and the franchise would need to be studied with the utmost care in the light of experience in Utah.

God bless the New West Education Commission ! I could wish that my right arm might be palsied if I were to lift it against the endeavours of brave men and women to carry schools and churches into Utah and the whole region around it. The New West Education Commission is undoubtedly commissioned of God to do a work that nothing else can. Let the churches arouse themselves. Let us do our utmost to secure for educators and philanthropists abundant support in carrying schools and churches into Utah while they can obtain entrance. But let us not forget that the very foundations we are placing beneath these schools and churches are imperilled unless we put an end to the power of the Mormon priesthood, derived from unlawfully gathered funds, and abolish polygamy in fact as well as in form. If unreformed Utah applies to Congress for a place in the Union, and is admitted by any time-serving party, God grant that she may hang as a millstone around the neck of every politician who favours the conspiracy to give the American Bluebeard a seat by the side of Washington.

Mr. Cook said that at the close of the meeting he would propose the following resolution :

Resolved, By the audience assembled at Tremont Temple, Boston, Monday noon, Feb. 11th, that President Arthur's scheme for the eradication of polygamy meets our approval, and that we urge its support upon Congress.

Yielding to the request of the audience, Mr. Cook put the question on the adoption of the resolution at once. There were from 2,000 to 3,000 people in the hall. He announced that at least two-thirds of the audience had risen to express their approval. There were cries from various parts of the house : "Seven-eighths" "Nine-tenths !" The negative being called, only one man rose, and was received derisively by the rest of the assembly.

## QUESTIONS.

1. *"What is the best scheme for the promotion of international copyright ?"*

The French. France to-day gives no publisher on her soil the right to reproduce a foreign work without the consent of

its author. After the author has given his consent, he has on French soil the same rights that a native there would possess. France makes this arrangement even with nations, like England and the United States, which do not reciprocate and give her authors right on their soil such as she gives to their authors on hers. In this particular France is far in advance of England and the United States, and exhibits characteristic political insight and generosity. France alone has dispensed with conditions of reciprocity.\*

2. "*Does the Copyright League recently formed in New York deserve support?*"

Most emphatically, Yes. It has the support already of the Secretary of State; it is favoured by such men as Parke Godwin, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Richard Henry Stoddard, Charles Dudley Warner, Howard Crosby. "I am satisfied," says Secretary Frelinghuysen, in a recent letter to this League, "that a simpler solution of the question could be effected by some means which shall give, in each country, to the foreign author the same right as the native author enjoys. I think the foreigner, owning a copyright, should have here the same privileges as our own citizens, provided our citizens have in the foreigner's country the same rights as the natives thereof." When Charles Dickens was in America for the first time, he took dinner with one of the Harper Brothers. A little boy came to the table, and Dickens placed him on his knee, and said: "You are a very fine boy. You are a very fine boy, indeed. You are the son of the greatest pirate on earth." Charles Dickens advocated international copyright with perhaps more vigour than tact; but the scheme of these gentlemen, who are now trying to deliver us from a remnant of international barbarianism deserves the support of the literary and scholarly class throughout the land.

3. "*What are the three or four best books recently issued in defence of scientific theism and its relations to Christian truth?*"

I beg leave most earnestly to recommend Professor Samuel Harris's work on "The Scientific Basis of Theism"; Professor George P. Fisher's work on "The Ground of Theistic and Christian Belief"; the recent very suggestive volume by Professor Henry Drummond on "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," a book containing now and then an immature page, but, after all, quite worthy of attention as an original essay written in the interests of religious science; and, lastly, but by no means least, the fascinating biography of Professor Clerk

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\*David Dudley Field, "International Code," Second Edition, p. 274.

Maxwell, one of the most accomplished opponents of materialism that England has produced, and whose eulogy was pronounced in London by Professor Helmholtz.

4. *"Ought temperance text-books to be introduced by law into the common schools?"*

I must say yes, with decision. Probably the very best general text-books on the laws of health, with sections on the evils of intemperance, are better than separate text-books, devoted to the temperance issue alone.

5. *"What progress has the movement for the introduction of such text-books made at the West and in the East?"*

The Legislatures of Michigan, Vermont and New Hampshire have already provided for the introduction of temperance text-books into the common schools under their control. A lady of Boston—on whose remarkable eloquence and philanthropic self-sacrifice may heaven send the richest blessings!—Mrs. Hunt, has been acting as an apostle for some years on the topic of temperance text-books in schools. She has really awakened the attention of the rulers of the land to their duty toward its children. The most remarkable of her victories is to be seen in that saintly place, the legislature of New York, my native State. The Senate at Albany has recently passed the following Act, which I read as one of the most suggestive signs of the times :

"The people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows :

"SECTION 1. Provision shall be made by the proper local school authorities for instructing all pupils in all schools supported by public money, or under State control, in physiology and hygiene, with special reference to the effects of alcoholic drinks, stimulants and narcotics upon the human system.

"SECTION 2. No certificate shall be granted any person to teach in the public schools of the State of New York, after the first day of January, 1885, who has not passed a satisfactory examination in physiology and hygiene, with special reference to the effects of alcoholic drinks, and stimulants and narcotics upon the human system."

6. *"Ought a triple pledge of total abstinence from intoxicating beverages, tobacco, and profanity to be generally introduced into Sunday schools?"*

A thousand times, yes. If there be any preacher who cannot administer such a triple pledge to any young person under his care, and recommend it by example as well as by precept, I greatly pity the young person and yet more the preacher.

7. *"What attitude is now being taken on the topic of total abstinence by fashionable circles in the land?"*

It is a great pleasure to emphasize the fact that in the Boston Art Club a proposition to have a wine-room was recently defeated by a vote taken after a month's canvass, and standing only 68 for to 363 against. In New York the sixteenth annual dinner of Sorosis was given a few days ago at Delmonico's without wine.

8. *"Do we not need a new theology to apply to the cases of Aristides, Scipio, the Roman Gracchi, and, perhaps the questioner might have asked, to that of Cornelius?"*

The ease of the latter is decided in the New Testament most safely and in a way thoroughly orthodox. I believe, therefore, the case of every man in a similar position is decided by the same authority.

9. *"What of Matthew Arnold on Emerson?"*

10. *"What of Matthew Arnold's agnosticism?"*

What of any pessimist on an optimist? What of any agnostic on a devout theist? The philosophy of Matthew Arnold and that of Mr. Emerson are thoroughly antagonistic. Mr. Arnold is a polished icicle. He is to be spoken of with high respect as a man of letters; but he has himself confessed that he has no consecutive scheme of thought as to the universe and does not wish for one. The literary sense explains everything to him, both inside the Bible and outside of it. He does not see through Nature to Nature's God. Mr. Emerson was always proclaiming: "Nature is too thin a screen; the glory of the Omnipresent God bursts through everywhere." I regret that Mr. Emerson did not free himself wholly from Neo-Platonic positions in philosophy; but I had a thousand times rather have Neo-Platonism diffused through society than the superficial and self-contradictory scheme of thought known as agnosticism. Arnold's creed falls far below Carlyle's and Goethe's natural supernaturalism.

As to Mr. Emerson's literary rank, and Mr. Arnold's iconoclastic comments on it, Prof. Hermann Grimm, of Berlin University, a more profound and much more dispassionate critic than Matthew Arnold, published not long ago in an American preface to his life of Goethe these deliberate words: "I am very much indebted to America. I can indeed say that no author with whose writings I have lately become acquainted, has had such an influence upon me as Emerson. *The manner of writing of this man, whom I hold to be the greatest of all living authors, has revealed to me a new way of expressing thought.* Although I grew up in the study of Goethe and had had much intercourse with those who have known him personally, I am indebted to Emerson for that historical view of Goethe in which I have sought to represent him." This passage is dated in May, 1880, when Thomas Carlyle was yet alive.

## THE LECTURE.

### WHAT SHALL BE THE NEW THEOLOGY?

The great event of the twentieth century in philosophy seems to me likely to be the upsetting of natural law. It has been the glory of the nineteenth century to prove that natural laws are omnipresent in the physical universe. We begin to suspect that these laws are omnipresent not only in the physical universe, but also in the moral. The deepest faith of science is expressed by the two foremost poets of our time, in words of singularly profound religious, as well as philosophical significance :

God is law—say the wise—O soul ! and let us rejoice !  
For, if he thunder by law, the thunder is yet his voice :  
Speak to him thou for he hears, and spirit with spirit may meet ;  
Closer is he than breathing and nearer than hands and feet.

—ALFRED TENNYSON.

I spoke as I saw ;

I report, as a man may of God's work—*All's Love ; yet all's Law.*  
Now I lay down the judgeship he lent me. Each faculty tasked  
To perceive him has gained an abyss where a dew-drop was asked.

—ROBERT BROWNING.

These are the great events on the edge of which I believe we stand :

1. The completion of the proof of the omnipresence of natural physical law.
2. The completion of the proof of the omnipresence of natural moral law.
3. The upsetting of natural law, or the proof that it is only a process, not a power ; only a method of operation, not an operator.
4. The enthronement of a personal God.



5. A vivid perception of the analogy of God's methods of operation in the natural and in the spiritual world.

In the progress of religious thought we are on the eve of reaping a vast harvest in the field of natural theology. We are already sharpening the sickles for this gathering of ripe grain, and the foremost investigators of the world are already beginning to bring home abundant sheaves. In the twentieth century I hope science itself will speak of Nature in the tone of the Psalms. It will not be said that natural law governs the universe; it will be said that a personal God is omnipresent in all the affairs of Nature. The Divine Transcendence and the Divine Immanence will both be emphasized; and so we shall avoid pantheism, on the one hand, and a merely mechanical theism, on the other. We shall learn what depth of truth there is in the saying of our advanced scholars that the universe is not governed *by* natural laws, but only *according to* natural laws; that our present common speech about natural laws governing the universe is superficial and benighted, and that, if we are to come into a position abreast of science, we must learn to use phrases which assert the omnipresence of a personal God ruling everything in the physical and the moral world. Let us anticipate the twentieth century. As to the Divine Omnipresence and the open secret of natural supernaturalism, let us, in the name of Science itself, live in the faith of a David, an Isaiah, a Carlyle, a Goethe, a Tennyson, a Browning, a Keshub Chunder Sen.

Our ordinary schemes of theological instruction need expansion in the newest fields of natural theology. I have for years advocated the founding of theological professorships for the discussion of the relations between religion and science. I hold in my hand a book entitled "*Natural Law in the Spiritual World*," and written by a professor of these relations, who teaches at Glasgow. It is a suggestive contribution to the unmasking of God in the natural

law. The topic of natural law in the spiritual world is likely to rise to the front in the region of natural theology and claim more and more attention in the name of the scientific method itself. Although the soundest scholars have reached the goal to which natural theology now moves, it is yet far off for the average thought of the people. I point to the goal from the outset of our course, to encourage you to patience in pursuing the path which leads to it.

Professor Shedd says that the great law of church history for 1,800 years has been that progress in theology has been incited by the attacks of the sceptic and of the latitudinarian. What are these attacks in our time? Progress will consist in the triumphant repulse of the attacks of the materialist, the atheist, the agnostic. Does death end all? Is the soul free? If man has personality, is there a God who has personality? The first question is not whether there be a God, but whether there be a free, responsible soul. But behind this question lies yet another. What are the tests of certainty? How do we know that we can know anything at all?

Is it necessary to bring all these questions into the pulpit? By no means. I am not in the pulpit. If I were preaching on the Sabbath day I should take a text from God's holy written word and endeavour to make it flame in the depths of the consciences of my hearers. But here and now, in a peculiar position, I am speaking by your permission, on the relations of religious to scientific truth, and it does not do for me to evade difficulties. It does not do for me to overlook the fact that, with not a few of the literary and scientific class, the question now is not so much how to save the soul as whether there be a soul; not so much how to prepare for the final judgment as whether there be any future life at all; not so much how to be at peace with God as whether there be a God. Victory honestly gained over determined opponents is a

mark of progress in theology; and that victory is often verified by the fact of the silence of the opponents or the gradual winning of them to the Christian ranks. Great works on natural religion are now needed, great works on ethics, great works on the freedom of the will, great works on the proof that man has a soul, great works on the tests of certainty. Along the line of our needs is to run the line of progress.

There are two definitions of theology—one which makes it the broad, philosophical, universal system of religious truth; another which confines its range to the practical answer to the question "What must I do to be saved?" If by theology you mean the knowledge of the truths embraced under the latter definition, I do not expect much progress in theology. The answer to the question "What must I do to be saved?" I believe has been settled some hundreds of years. If I startle any one by affirming that progress must occur in theological science as in any other science, it will be remembered that I mean by theology—and now I give a definition deliberately—the whole range of religious truth. And by the whole range, I mean not merely religious truth as a theory, but such truth in application to practice.

Take the single and supreme question, "What must I do to be saved?" This inquiry implies that he who asks it believes six things—that he has a soul, that it is to exist in another life, that it may be lost or saved, that its loss or salvation depends on something which the soul may itself do, that the soul is therefore free, that man is an accountable being. Now, the agnostic, the atheist, the materialist of our time is in doubt as to all these propositions. However ludicrous and pitiable this posture of unbelief or unrest may be, the certainty is that the progress of physical science has thrown many men into this kind of scepticism. In Augustine's time, in Luther's and Bishop Butler's, men did not doubt so much on these points; and, therefore, the

defenders of Christianity built up bulwarks around it at other points. We must now build at the points that are the most often and efficiently attacked.

All the deepest questions in theology and science in our time run back to the inquiry, What is the test of certainty?

From whatever point we start we reach this same question. Theology has several branches. You have, first, Apologetics, or the proof that man has a soul, that there is a personal God and that we are immortal. These topics belong to Philosophical Apologetics. But you have also to show that there has been a historical revelation made, and this you do under the head of Historical Apologetics. Then you have a great department touching on the nature of man, and this is called, in theology, Anthropology. Then you have Theology proper, or the nature of God. You then have Christology, or the doctrine of the person of Christ. And then, Soteriology, or the doctrine of the conditions of salvation, the topic of the New Birth and Atonement. Lastly, you have Eschatology, the doctrine of the last things, the resurrection and the final judgment.

In each of these departments progress in theology must readjust thought in such a way as to silence opponents and unite the friends of Christian positions. But how am I to commence my examination of these great regions of discussion, unless I first reach some clear conclusion as to the tests of certainty? I cannot enter Apologetics. I cannot put my foot on the outermost step of the staircase leading up to this temple of thought as to the nature of man and of God and their relations, without discussing the tests of certainty.

Difficult as this theme may be, it is not altogether an unfamiliar one; for modern literature has made it, perhaps, mischievously well known. The trouble in our time is that the most recondite questions of the schools are thrown before the newspapers, the lyceums, the average fireside for

discussion and settlement. Topics on which a lifetime needs to be spent, if you are to form a sound opinion concerning them, we are called upon to settle in the street and in the club. Every man, in our age, exercises judgment for himself, when as yet not every man has judgment to exercise. Especially does the literary or the scientific class in our time think itself capable of settling all the great philosophical and theological questions. Has this class not had high culture given to it? But many a man who has gone through college never studied theology. In our time nearly all theological branches are excluded from college courses. The topics of philosophy are rarely taught in a four years course in a university. Many a cultured man of letters knows nothing, practically, of the deep problems of theism; nothing, in a scientific way, of theology. And so I, in the name of the authority of experts, repudiate the claim so arrogantly made by many merely scientific and literary men to settle these fundamental questions which belong to theologians and philosophers, strictly so-called. We must have great experts of great native ability to discuss religious science, and we must learn to respect them. As in navigation, as in military affairs, as in mining, as in any practical matter, so in theology and philosophy, we must learn to respect the unanimous opinion of those who have given prolonged attention to these most complicated themes. It is a flaw in our modern civilization that we have not enough middle education to form a link between the masses of the people and the real leaders of thought on high topics. I hope that I am not making myself unpopular by insisting here that it is the duty of the platform, pulpit and press, as well as of the schools, to try to form such a middle link, and thus to educate the community to a point at which it may determine for itself who has a right to speak authoritatively on these themes.

If I am audacious this morning I am following the lead of men the latchets of whose shoes I am unworthy to

unloose. I am asking you to enter a somewhat recondite field; but I shall not refer to it again. Nevertheless, if I did not enter it at once you would say that I had evaded a central difficulty.

What, then, are we to lay down as the test of certainty?

1. Self-evident truth is the final test of certainty.

2. Self-evident truths are the basis of both science and theology.

3. They are equivalent to the cans and cannots of Scripture.

"Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." It is perfectly self-evident that a door cannot be open and shut at one and the same time. "A fountain cannot bring forth at the same time both sweet water and bitter." "Unless a man be born again, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven."

4. Self-evident truths are the intuitions, strictly so-called. They are the basis of intuitionist theology. They are axioms. They are the foundation of what I have called axiomatic theology.

What are the marks of intuitive truth? *Five*—self-evidence, necessity, universality, persistence, consistency.

It is impossible to imagine the opposite of a self-evident truth. The chief trait of axiomatic truth is the inconceivability of the contrary. Of course faith in such truth persists in spite of all attempts to destroy it. It has consistency with all other truth. Its universality and necessity result from its self-evidence.\*

Now I am determined that you shall understand that scholars on this point of the test of certainty are not talking at random. There are in the mind certain absolutely necessary ideas. It is easy for me to imagine that all the objects in this room might be annihilated; but I cannot possibly imagine that a portion of the space of this room could

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\* See President McCosh's Work on "The Intuitions"; also Prof. Samuel Harris, on "The Philosophical Basis of Theism," pp. 26-31; also chap. v.

be annihilated. That is a very curious fact in the mind. I can imagine that all the events since sunrise might not have happened ; I cannot even imagine that the duration from sunrise to the present moment should not have existed. I try, for instance, to annihilate a portion of the space in this room, and I bring down, in imagination, space from yonder corner, I leave space behind it. I try to annihilate a portion of duration ; I find I leave duration behind. I cannot imagine the truth of the opposite of the proposition that every event must have a sufficient cause ; that two straight lines cannot enclose a space ; that a thing cannot be and not be at one and the same time in one and the same sense. It is the business of the philosophers to discuss our mental operations, and to make out a list of these absolutely self-evident propositions.\*

Please notice the distinction between evidence and self-evidence. It is perfectly evident that the distance from here to the reef on which the "City of Columbus" struck is so many miles. The surveyors, on examination, could tell us how many ; but it is self-evident, without any examination, that the shortest distance from here to that reef is a straight line. Surveyors might make an examination and prove by their compasses and measuring chains that the shortest distance is a straight line ; but that would not add to the strength of our conviction on the point at all. Wholly without examination, not by evidence, but by self-evidence we know that the shortest distance between two points is a straight line. And just so we know many moral truths. For instance, that guilt can be the quality of only voluntary action

I give this definition of self-evident truth, or of intuition, because the latter word is used constantly in the most careless way by our popular writers, and even by some theological

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\* See for a fuller discussion of "Intuition, Instinct, Experiment, and Syllogism as Tests of Truth," the Boston Monday Lectures on "Transcendentalism," pp. 10-17.

authorities. We are told that the Christian consciousness is to settle what doctrines we are to receive. When you analyze the meaning of this phrase you find it has many significations. We are told that the intuitions must determine what our convictions should be in religious things; and when you ask for a definition of the intuitions, you sometimes find that the moral instincts merely, and not the intuitions, strictly so-called, are meant. Theodore Parker, as I have had occasion to show on this platform in years gone by, confused intuition and instinct. Scores of literary men and many preachers and religious authors do the same. Theodore Parker founded his Absolute Religion on the assertion that we have a positive intuition of God's existence and of the fact of immortality. Now I can imagine that there is no immortality; there is nothing self-contradictory in that imagination. I can even imagine that there is no God; there is nothing absolutely self-contradictory in such a proposition. So I never teach that we have a strictly intuitive knowledge of the divine existence and of immortality; and yet there is many a theologian that would assail me on this point and affirm that I am not sufficiently reverent toward the spiritual instincts of human nature if I say I do not know by direct intuition that there is a God. I do not fight with these theologians. I believe I know by instinct, though not by intuition, strictly so-called, that there is a God. I believe that we have an instinct within us that points to immortality just as surely as the instinct of the bird points to the southern climate. Making a distinction between intuition and instinct, I hope I avoid obscurity and mysticism. I would build on intuition only what the scientific definition justifies, and the definition is that an intuition is a truth in which we can find these five traits: self-evidence, necessity, universality, persistence, consistency.

We have a sense of dependence and obligation which assures us of the divine existence. I grant that we feel



God and a judgment to come; that mighty instincts in us point to the fact of the divine existence and of immortality. As we feel that there are the beautiful and the true outside us, so we feel that there is the good; but the Three are One, and that One is He. There is a mighty moral instinct in conscience, pointing, of course, to the moral law. It may be said that we actually feel that law; but the law is only a method of operation of the Law-Giver. The law implies a law-giver. I sometimes say we have a God-consciousness. But I do not defend the doctrine of Theodore Parker and of a mystical class of modern theologians, that we have, strictly, an intuition of the divine existence. We know the divine existence by one single step of inference from axiomatic truth. We feel the divine existence by our instinct, or, as Professor Henry B. Smith of New York said, by our connatural impulse. That I may not seem to be too cautious, let me read one of the authorities that is in general revered by those who oppose such views on this point as I am now defending. "The knowledge of the existence of God as an objective fact," says Prof. Henry B. Smith, "is not an absolutely intuitive knowledge, in the sense that the knowledge of our own existence is, or even that the knowledge of the Eternal World is. If it were there would be no more of intellectual atheism than of pure idealism; yet there is much more. The denial of the existence of God does not involve an absolute contradiction."\*

Why am I so cautious on this point of the distinction between intuition and instinct? Because I am in the thick of battle with men who give no quarter. I must have a clean-cut definition of intuition; otherwise I can do nothing. If I put into intuition what belongs only to instinct, I shall be accused of being unscientific, unfair and evasive. All science recognises the authority of the strictly self-evident truths, I put them at the same height in the system

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\*Introduction to "Christian Theology," p. 90.

of theological thought as the Bible puts its *cans* and *cannots*; for they are actually the same stones in the building. Give me a strict definition of self-evident truth and I will parallel every truth of that sort by a *can* or *cannot* out of the Holy Word and justify myself in the name, not only of Science, but of the Scriptures in this use of the intuitions.

6. In determining to use only truth strictly self evident as a final test of certainty, we must insist, therefore, that the intuitions are to be distinguished from the instincts.

7. But on the instincts are legitimately founded many of our most sacred and powerful convictions. On these instincts stands a great part of our assured belief as to duty, as to the existence of God and the fact of immortality.

We believe that God makes no half hinges. He has so made us that when conscience acts freely we cannot help expecting judgment after death, cannot help feeling there is a difference between right and wrong, cannot help feeling the pressure of the moral law, or rather of the Law-Giver behind it.

Theology I divide into several branches—axiomatic theology, experimental theology, biblical theology, historical theology; but at the base I put the intuitions, the self-evident truths, and build on them axiomatic propositions. Then I put the instincts above these, and build on them what we call experimental theology. Experimental convictions, reached through the instincts, may be as authoritative as axiomatic truths reached through the intuitions.

Let me make this clear by a single example. Horace Bushnell, in his college days, was almost an infidel. He doubted nearly every religious proposition that had been brought to his attention. A revival was sweeping through the college and he was nearly the last of the teachers who had not yielded to its influence. One evening, pacing up and down his room, in the desolation of his scepticism, he

said to himself: "There is one thing I have always believed. I have never doubted that there is a distinction between right and wrong." Conscience has a direct intuition of the difference between motives. Certain motives conscience does intuitively perceive to be right, and others it intuitively perceives to be wrong. Horace Bushnell, by the blessing of Heaven, bethought himself of his duty in a practical way. He asked: "Have I ever yielded to this truth which I admit, that there is a difference between right and wrong? Have I ever thrown myself over the line between right and wrong, toward the side of the right, with full purpose and will to do only the right? There may be a God, or there may not be a God; there may be immortality or there may not be." So atrocious was his scepticism in this critical hour of his early life, that he was in doubt as to these supreme facts. But he knelt in his solitude on this one reef of axiomatic truth. He gave himself up to the promptings of conscience and yielded utterly, gladly, affectionately to all he at that time had of light. And in the blackness of the darkness above the salt, howling foam of that ocean on which he was trying to find peace, a window of Heaven was opened, and there came upon him the clear convictions that there is a personal God, that there is another life, and that God is ready to hear all who call upon Him in sincerity and in truth. From that hour he never doubted on these points.

Now, how did he reach these convictions? I believe that he reached them much as we obtain the intense impression that there is beauty in the world, by cultivating the love of it and making ourselves impressible by it. Make yourself personally fit to perceive beauty, and it will flame upon you from all quarters. Make yourself impressible by the Omnipresent God, and He will speak through your instincts. You say that man does not convert himself, and that I am now supposing that what God does is less important than what man does in the conver-

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sion of the soul. Not at all. "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God worketh in you to will and to do of his good pleasure." The latter part of that text is good Calvinism: the first part is good Arminianism; the whole of it is good Christianity and philosophy. Take the axiomatic truths, take the instincts which lead you to God; yield to them! More light will come in the yielding. Obedience to the æsthetic instincts is the organ of æsthetic knowledge. Obedience to the spiritual instincts is the organ of spiritual knowledge. "He that doeth the will shall know of the doctrine." "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him." Whenever you open the dome window of the soul by absolute, total, affectionate self-surrender to God, He streams in upon you, and you have the inner witness of the Spirit, which leads into all spiritual truth.

## THE PRELUDE.

### LAWLESSNESS, NORTH AND SOUTH.

Twice within little more than one hundred years this country has been washed in blood; and twice within twenty years civilization has been startled by the assassination of a President of the United States. Out of every 10,000 deaths in England seven are murders. Out of every 10,000 in the United States twenty-one are murders. The proportion of murders to deaths in this country is not exceeded anywhere on earth, within the range in which careful statistics are taken, except in Italy and Spain.\* The proportion in Ireland is only eight in 10,000 deaths, and in France only eight, in Spain twenty-three, in Italy twenty-nine. Is it not high time that the young idea, East, West, North, and especially South, should be taught how *not* to shoot? It is publicly affirmed on the authority of several representatives in Congress that there are twenty-eight members of that body who owe their position to terrorism and fraud at the polls in the Southern States. Congress, at this moment, is engaged in a business on which it enters most reluctantly, the investigation of the Danville riot and the Copiah assassinations. No one doubts that the low white, with the shot-gun in his hand, is a political power in the South even yet, after nineteen years have passed since the abolition of slavery and the close of the Civil War. It is a business very distasteful to me to uncover the vexed topic of the shot-gun aristocracy in the South; but such an aristocracy is there, haughty, domineering, barbaric, cowardly, murderous. Masked gangs of white scoundrels, in not a few Southern counties, whip, burn, or shoot negroes for no offence except the exercise of the rights of freemen at the polls. In the South, no doubt, a majority of the population is on the right side, and believes in law and order; but it seems powerless to control an infamously lawless minority. We have reason to congratulate ourselves on the progress of reconstruc-

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\* See Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics," 1884, p. 324.

tion ; nevertheless, the shot-gun is so great a power in politics in the South to-day that the influence of the national Government needs to be exerted strenuously to prevent terrorism from making wholly worthless the most sacred civil rights. A recent decision concerning civil rights has quickened the lawlessness of certain corrupt portions of Southern society. The nation stands at this moment in a position of great uneasiness as it asks itself the question whether, under the local governments of the Gulf States, life, property, political freedom, can be made safe without interference by the national arm. Most of us here in the North are convinced, I think, that the South needs watching yet.

What we say on the streets, what we utter to ourselves in whispers in our parlours, as to the lawlessness of portions of the land, I believe ought to be uttered occasionally in public, so that the sentiment of the masses may correct the mischief that a few corrupt men, in the illiterate and largely immoral populations are doing both North and South. One of the hugest evils in our country appears to me to be the cowardice of majorities in the presence of ruffians. We are in bondage to the uneducated and violent class in the great cities in the North, and to a large extent, in the rural populations, in the Southern States. We must cultivate courage, pronounced and incisive patriotism, that will shake off the manacles of the rougher portions of our society whether in the municipal slums or in the rustic slums.

In the Northern and Pacific States have we not lawlessness enough to bring a blush to the cheek of any thoughtful patriot? Not to touch here and now on the lawlessness of Mormonism, nullifying national law as thoroughly as ever South Carolina did, not to mention the atrocities that have gone unwhipped of justice, on a rude and vast frontier, we have close at hand the whiskey-rings nullifying the laws of the States to which they belong, and acting rebelliously in a hundred particulars. So far as rum rules the great towns, they are practically nullifiers and secessionists. We ask negligently what can be done about this ; and so we asked tamely what could be done about the abolition of slavery. When God turned abolitionist, we were forced to put ourselves on His side. One would think that Providence itself is now turning temperance reformer, and is endeavouring to awaken us through a deep sense of shame to the assertion of our rights as citizens and Christians. Most of the murders in the Northern States originate in intemperance ; but consider how leniently they are treated, sometimes, even when they do not thus originate. A social leper is murdered by the brother of the woman he has ruined. No doubt the man deserved to

lose his life ; we should have all been glad to have seen the law executed in his case ; but, as our execution of law in some cases is very lax, this boy took the execution of justice into his own hands. He was sent to jail on the plea of insanity ; he was brought out, it being declared that he was not insane, and is now met with the acclamations of whom ? Why, of nearly everybody in the more careless portions of society, and of more than one in what are called the religious circles. A New York religious journal seriously justifies the shooting of Dukes by Nutt, and the liberation of Nutt from prison, and, when a secular journal criticises this religious journal for such an attitude, defends itself on the ground that American law in many quarters is not executed by the officials in charge of it, and that, therefore, in certain extreme cases, individuals aggrieved must take upon themselves the execution of the law. That spirit fills wider circles than we dream of in this country. It is our condemnation in the presence of civilization.

Meanwhile, the Basin States are filling up, and roughs who were on the frontier are coming back to the great cities of the North and South. One of the generals of the Army, with whom I had a long conversation not many months ago on the Rocky Mountains, told me that, within ten years, police regulations will be so perfect in the mining towns of the Basin States, that the border ruffian cannot have his way there, and that he will be driven back into the slums of the great cities of the East and of the Mississippi valley, and, therefore, that we must expect a more deadly kind of lawlessness than we have ever had. This fact is quite worth putting by the side of the influx of corrupt elements of immigration, as an explanation of our lawlessness.

A prolific cause of lawlessness is the animosities between races, and religions, and political parties. A still huger cause is intemperance. A yet larger cause, as I think, is irreligion, atheism, agnosticism, liberalistic creeds, blatant infidelity, and the failure of the Church to reach the masses with truths that overawe the conscience.

The weakness of the general Government in protecting the rights of citizens of the States is a fruitful cause of lawlessness.

Illiteracy in a Republic is incipient anarchy. I keep open in my study the pathetic map of the illiterate regions of the United States. Whenever I find murders described in the daily journals, I can usually locate them somewhere inside the menacing shadows of the illiteracy of our populations. The terrible fact, often emphasised on this platform, has just been

officially stated in Congress, that illiteracy holds the balance of political power in fourteen Northern, and in all the Southern States. In the thirty-eight states there are 1,871,217 illiterate voters. *One voter in five cannot write his name.* The illiterate voters in South Carolina are more than one-half; in Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia, one in two. Missouri, with one in nine, presents the best record among the Southern States. In the Presidential election of 1876, New York, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Connecticut, Indiana, California, Nevada, Ohio, Oregon, Wisconsin, Illinois, Rhode Island, Michigan, and Pennsylvania, were ranged on the side of illiteracy. In the last Presidential contest, thirty of the States of the Union, with 298 electoral votes, were again within the domination of sovereigns who could not read the very charter of their liberties. The majority which they gave could have been overthrown by a combined vote of their illiterate voters, even if those majorities had been five times as great as they were. In 1876, 60 of our 76 senators, three-fifths of the whole, and 259 of the 292 representatives were in the grasp of illiteracy. In 1880, 58 of our 76 senators and 292 of our 325 representatives were in States and districts where illiterate voters hold the balance of power.\*

If we are to ask our critics among Tories and aristocrats abroad, what is the chief cause of the frequently poor execution of American laws, they would say it is universal suffrage and the fear of officers, that if they execute the laws sternly they may lose votes.

Now, I do not grant that universal suffrage is a mistake; but, without safeguards, perhaps it is; and my chief object this morning, is to speak of these safeguards. What are the remedies for lawlessness? To eradicate any evil we must reverse its causes.

1. I would extend the citizens' law and order leagues over the whole country, and induce the freedmen, if possible, to organise themselves in support of such leagues.

2. *I would widen the scope of the law and order leagues so as to embrace all violations of laws protecting life, morals, or property.*

3. I would organise branch leagues in every populous county of the United States.

4. I would, if possible, secure for the use of these leagues a number of newspapers, even if I were obliged to found the journals outright, and I would make these gazettes wholly independent of political and partisan control.

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\* See N.Y. Tribune, Feb. 18th, 1884.



5. I would have the churches, especially the larger and more important of them in cities, bring themselves into efficient co-operation with the law and order leagues. Perhaps every large church should have a committee, consulting occasionally with these leagues. There might thus be formed a universal vigilance committee of the best citizens, who would have power to secure the execution of the laws, or else to assist efficiently in turning out of office all misrepresentatives of the people who do not execute the laws of the people.

You say this is a wide scheme, and a rather venturesome one. But let me ask you to notice what is occurring. I hold in my hand the constitution of the Citizens' Law and Order League of Massachusetts; I have here, also, the constitution of the Law and Order League, or the Citizens' League of the State of Illinois. The object of both is simply to aid in the execution of existing temperance laws. To show you how practical the work of such a league may be, I read a document which I regard as one of the most suggestive signs of the times, a little card, sent all over Chicago, by what is called the North Side Citizens' League, for the suppression of the sale of liquor to minors and drunkards. Go to the whisky shops of many a rural town, go to the city slums, almost in sight from this platform, and you will find mothers and wives beseeching rum-sellers not to sell liquor to minors and drunkards, and you will hear rum-sellers reply, in effect, if not in form, that they care nothing for such appeals. Seven out of ten whisky-sellers are willing to ride rough-shod over the heart of the orphan and the widow, and you sit by and say nothing. On whom does God place the blame? This Citizens' League has sent out a card, reading as follows, and it is a specimen of what might be done in every city of the land.

**"NORTH SIDE CITIZENS' LEAGUE**

**"FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SALE OF LIQUORS TO MINORS  
AND DRUNKARDS.**

**"127, La Salle Street, Room 8. Telephone, 452.**

**"The North Side Citizens' League would call the special attention of parents, guardians, teachers, and all others interested in the protection of youth and the general welfare of the community at large to the importance of at once reporting to the agent, at his office, 127, La Salle Street, Room 8, all cases of violation of the law with regard to selling or giving intoxicating liquors to minors, or to any person intoxicated, or who is in the habit of getting intoxicated, or of permitting**

minors to play with balls, cards, dice, or any article used in gaming, in any saloon or place where intoxicating liquor is sold. All such cases reported to the agent will be promptly prosecuted, if the evidence will warrant. It is essential that the name and address of the minor or drunkard and saloon keeper be correctly given, but it is not essential that the party reporting the case should appear before the court, or be publicly known."

Here follow the names of an honourable executive committee; and, on the back of the card is a summary of the work of this branch of the Citizens' League for a single year in which it prosecuted 220 saloon keepers, arrested 147 for selling liquor to minors and 111 for selling to drunkards, and caused 212 to be fined by the justices of the peace.

What I venture to defend is an arrangement like that outlined in this card, and this not merely concerning violations of laws against liquor selling, but of those as to the right of suffrage in the Southern States and every law protecting life, morals and property. Do you expect politics to reform the whisky-ring and the shot-gun aristocracy. We must take these subjects not out of politics, but out of partisan politics. A scheme for constitutional prohibition is now before several of the states, and the chief argument in favour of it is that the plan takes the question of temperance legislation out of party politics and puts it into the hands of all the people. Citizens' law and order leagues are made up of reputable members of all political parties. They have no partisan purposes. Your Law and Order League, in this state, contains some of the most honoured names in your society on the Massachusetts coast and in the Massachusetts highlands and in the Connecticut valley. I would spread these leagues from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate, and from the Lakes to the Gulf, and I would inculcate upon the churches and upon all respectable parlours, platforms and pulpits the duty of supporting existing laws through the agency of such leagues. Let us realise the fact that, until we thus arouse ourselves, there is very little ground to expect that mere politics will eradicate lawlessness. The politician goes with the wind; and if we can raise a breeze until it becomes a hurricane, there is no doubt we shall move state legislatures and Congress. Out of the *Æolus* cave of the people's indignation must come the tempest that is to move the becalmed fleet of any political party, no matter what its name.

I hope I do not seem extravagant in assuming that citizens' law and order leagues are needed on other topics than those

connected with the violations of temperance laws. Are we to sit still and see Congress filled with representatives making laws for us and elected by the use of the shot-gun? Nearly a score of years after the close of the War are you to be patient, while laws for you are made by Congressmen who obtain seats at Washington through terrorism and fraud? Are you likely to get rid of the corrupt classes in the Northern cities speedily? Are you not likely to need, more and more as our country grows older, precisely this organisation of the best elements of society? Politics will take care of this, you say? My conviction is that we cannot depend on politics to lead reform; but that the people (the people, and nobody but the people), must originate the force by which great moral measures are led to triumph. Politics did not abolish slavery until politics were taken by the neck by the people. Until God took the people themselves in hand and aroused them, the people were wholly unable to rouse Congress. I hold that we must be sensitive to the touch of God upon our religious circles, and that, when He points out political duties under universal suffrage, it is for us to follow Him into politics, if necessary; not into partisan contests, but into whatever battle is needed for the triumph of lofty moral ideas in our civilization.

Let the parlour be aroused. In the city of Cleveland the ladies who are endeavouring to promote the cause of temperance will not receive into their parlours the wives of liquor dealers. I am very proud of their record on this point, and I happen to know that the very wealthiest draw the line at the door of the gin shop. The lady at the head of the household of the foremost dealer in standard oil, a man who is supposed to own the State of Ohio, or a large part of it, will not receive any woman belonging to the family of a liquor seller. Social sentiment is rising so high in the State of Ohio that it is now a kind of social disgrace to know anybody connected with the liquor trade. I am not in favour of building up caste in the United States, except the caste God Himself builds. There is a difference between the right hand and the left; and in our society we must draw somewhere the line; certainly it must be drawn at the parlour door between the good and bad, and I am not unwilling that the example of the ladies of that beautiful city on the lakes yonder should be imitated throughout the length and breadth of the Union.

Let the pulpit be aroused. I am a friend of the ministers of this land; but what are we to say as to the influence of the pulpit when the man who preaches God's Word is himself a moderate drinker? The Northern States are almost wholly

free from moderate drinking in the pulpits, and the Southern States, thank God, become more temperate every year. But there yet remains a remnant very careless on this point, and especially careless in the social entertainments they patronize. We must have the ministry so aroused that it can lock hands with the citizens' law and order leagues, and do this without gloves, and do it, if necessary, from the pulpit itself. I would not have partisan issues brought into the pulpit; propriety must be consulted, of course, in all things; but it can be understood that the pulpit is the leader of the Church in the temperance cause, and that the Church itself is the best of all temperance societies.

Let the press be aroused. A paper in St. Louis—I will not name it—said recently that the secret of conducting a daily journal in the Mississippi valley is the ability to anticipate where Gehenna will break loose next. If anybody does not believe that there is a Hell in this world let him read the Western daily journals. You are fed with murders and scandals morning by morning, as you study the gazettes of Chicago and St. Louis and Cincinnati. We have a New York journal that lately has made itself, with mighty power behind it, the apologist of the whisky-rings of Manhattan Island. It is time that the people should speak out on the subject of the difference between newspapers. Some of the best newspapers in the world adorn our civilization; some of the worst on earth curse it; and the time has come for us to trample under foot the satanic press and any press that has satanic streaks in it.

Let the platform be aroused. The amusement of the people is the object aimed at by the platform, you say? Not if it be worthy at all to follow the platform of the past in our country, a platform that shook the nation in the anti-slavery days, a platform that led us on into a Civil War and supported us in it—such a platform deserves to be a perpetual institution of American civilization, bolder than the press, more frank than the pulpit, less given to form than other methods of discussion, and capable of taking up unpopular issues and discussing them with an eye not merely on the present hour, but on to-morrow and the day after. Encourage such a platform and discourage any platform or pulpit that dare not tell the truth and the whole truth as to the evils of our time.

Let municipal and state and national officials be aroused; let illiteracy be eradicated from North and South; let reform begin in family government and improved minor morals; let Civil Service reform be made to triumph; let whisky-rings be thoroughly broken up; let unsectarian religious instruction be

given in the common schools ; let those who have the privilege of free schools suffer disfranchisement for voluntary illiteracy.

As to disfranchisement for illiteracy I hold very emphatic opinions. I would not take the ballot from any man who has it now ; but I would restore the reading test in a quiet, gradual manner. How ? I would open the common schools. I would make the approach to them an inclined plane strewn with roses. I would pass laws such as you have in Massachusetts, making education in the common school branches compulsory. And then I would proclaim in the different states, and ultimately by national enactment, that all who are born here, or come into the country from abroad, after a certain date, say 1900 or 1925, and have these privileges and do not learn to read and write, shall not have the right to vote until they learn.

### QUESTIONS.

1. *Do you consider the theories of Mr. Henry George as advanced in his book, "Progress and Poverty," practical, and that they will be accepted by the people generally in this generation ?*

No ! Nevertheless it is not wonderful that Mr. George has attracted much attention in England ; for the British Islands are a powder magazine on the topic of labour and capital. Property in the soil is so centralised there that whoever discusses the great theme of the nationalization of the ownership of the land is sure to stir up opposition and to gather support. No more revolutionary doctrine could be taught in the politics or social economy of England than the idea which Mr. George is defending. Many in the middle class in England are willing to listen to almost fanatical discussion if it contain but a spark of hope for the rectification of the enormous evils of the present systems of land tenure in the British Islands. Nevertheless, the middle-class in England, and, as I believe, the lowest classes, are not in favour of spoiling the landlords. They want no political economy that omits the ten commandments. The chief error of Mr. George is that he really recommends spoliation and forgets the divine command, "Thou shalt not steal."

2. *Do you recognize the deity of Christ and the authority of the Christian Scriptures ?*

Most assuredly, and with my whole heart, mind, might and strength.

3. *What is the duty of an evangelical church toward a devout member, who wishes to withdraw to an unevangelical church?*

On that point the practice which has been settled by fifty years of experience in Eastern Massachusetts seems to me to be wise. Letters should not be granted by the church. What the pastor may do unofficially in attesting the good character of the departing member must be left to his own conscience.

4. *What are the prospects for revivals East and West?*

My travels bring me into intimate relations with a large number of preachers. Wherever I find a man holding three specific doctrines I expect a revival through his labours. What are these doctrines? The necessity of immediate repentance; the Atonement, as held by the evangelical churches; the supreme religious authority of God's word. Wherever I find a man in whom these doctrines are not a creed but a life I usually find a revival going on in a slow or a swift way. I solemnly believe that it is the divine will that we should teach the necessity of the new birth in this life, the necessity of the Atonement in its biblical form, and the authority of God's word in precisely the terms and tone in which the Bible teaches these truths. Wherever I find a man doubtful on either of these highest matters, I usually find a torpid church, or one that may, perhaps, be drifting into disintegration or into some foppish liberalism adapted to the wants of an easy-going age. Such an organization may be called a church, indeed, but is really little more than a club house.

5. *What measures do most to promote revivals?*

Secret prayer in the closets of the congregation; family altars throughout the whole extent of the Christian population; home training in evangelical truth; pastoral visitation carried not merely to death-beds but into the daily secular life of parishes, and watching over the cradle itself; inculcation from the pulpit of the distinctively evangelical truths; organisation of lay religious effort in such a method as to bring church-members face to face with the unconverted; after meetings for conversation between church-members and the religiously irresolute; whatever addresses the will and brings it to a decision to give up itself wholly, affectionately, irreversibly to all the truth the soul perceives; an atmosphere of devoutness in the community at large; the opening of the dome window of human populations, and the streaming through it of that divine light which is beating for ever outside the damp vapours of our unbelief and worldliness, asking admission. Wherever the clouds are thrust aside above a population and the sunlight of God admitted through an obscured spiritual atmosphere to

the heart and will, there must be growth, or, in other words, a revival.

6. *Is unfermented wine a fact in modern times?*

There are in New York and Brooklyn, in London and Edinburgh, many establishments which claim to sell unfermented juice of the grapes. I am not now entering upon the question as to the unfermented wine in the biblical times; for the inquiry does not bring up this vexed point. A distinguished chemist, whom I know very well, made a careful examination of all the processes of an establishment in London that claims to sell unfermented wine. He gave me authority to say that he was fully convinced that unfermented wine, or unfermented juice of the grape, is now sold in London and in many places in the British Islands. Thousands of English and Scottish churches use only what is called unfermented wine at their communion service. In the United States, great numbers of churches use only the unfermented juice of the grape at the Lord's table.

7. *Ought the use of such unfermented juice of the grape to be required in the communion service?*

The question is one that should not be allowed to divide the churches and produce bitterness of feeling; nevertheless I believe, that, in a quiet way, we ought to promote the use of the unfermented juice of the grape at the holy service of the Eucharist. There is not the least doubt that a reformed inebriate is justified in abstaining from the use of wine at the communion service, lest it should awaken a thirst which he is unable to control. Offered wine by his pastor, a reformed drunkard may stumble over his spiritual misleader into temporal and eternal ruin.

8. *What measures ought people's churches to make prominent?*

A model people's church has been dedicated lately to its high uses in Boston, and if you wish to see my answer to this question look at that church. It is evangelical, to commence with. It rents no pews. Mr. Emerson said religion in our time has become pew renting. It intends, by the blessing of heaven, to be aggressive and to reach the whole population. It is full of the revival spirit. I do not know that people's churches ought to stand entirely outside of denominations. I rejoice that this people's church belongs to one of our most aggressive evangelical bodies of Christians. I should not think more of it if it were to sever itself from that connection. It is denominational, but still it is substantially unsectarian. A people's church loses more than it gains by cutting the chord that binds it to some one of the great evangelical denominations.

9. *What of the Evangelical Alliance?*

Its basis should not be merely Calvinistic, but evangelical in the American sense of that word. I most heartily believe in its purposes, and hope the day is coming when they will be carried out more efficiently than at any time in the past. It is a most useful organisation in Europe. Its great meetings have been historic events of importance. I would not break up the distinction between the evangelical and the unevangelical bodies of believers in their relations to this organisation.

10. *What of a broader plan of Christian Union?*

Let it be tried; and, if it succeed better than the Evangelical Alliance, adopt it. I doubt whether a multitudinist union will turn out better in the future than it has in various trials in the past. A multitudinist union is likely to wreck itself by self-contradictions. Church history does not encourage us to adopt such a broad plan of union as overlooks the distinction between evangelical and unevangelical believers. In work merely philanthropic the distinction may be overlooked; but in distinctively religious work it cannot be forgotten without large practical inconvenience and mischief. If we are to have an alliance uniting Protestantism for general religious purposes I think it must be upon the basis of the great truths which, to the vast majority of Protestants, are as dear as the ruddy drops that visit the inmost chambers of the heart.



## THE LECTURE.

### *WHAT SHALL BE THE NEW THEOLOGY?*

All science in our time is building an altar to the unknown God. A great event in the progress of natural theology will occur when the coals that now lie on that altar are lighted. Whenever they take fire the flame will mount to the very summit of the heavens. In the twentieth century, on the Mars Hill of the loftiest religious investigation, will be proclaimed the unknown God whom physical science in the nineteenth century has ignorantly worshipped.

When I was in India men showed me the tomb of Akbar, on which were written the ninety-nine names of God. Some of the words represent him merely as force, some merely as the absolute and the infinite; but on the marble lying over the tomb of this great king all those names were harmonised. The most philosophical and obscure and cold appellations of the Deity were brought into connection with the most religious and vivid and devout names. They were all made to minister to the theistic faith. Our nineteenth century is carving, on the marble of science, names of God as the absolute, the infinite, the inscrutable force lying behind all natural laws. These names are philosophical, obscure and cold. When the marble is finished, the whole block, as I believe, will be like that which lies above the tomb of Akbar; the devoutest and most vivid and religious appellations will be chiseled on it at last, and we shall find that the absolute, the infinite, the

unknown force behind all law, is really the personal God, the King eternal, immortal, invisible, whom Christians worship.

Macaulay says that, when the little atheist, Aristodemus, confronted Socrates, Xenophon heard the latter refute him in reasoning of which Paley's natural theology is an exact parallel. "Socrates makes the same use of the statues of Polycletus and the pictures of Zeuxis which Paley makes of the watch. Natural theology, then," Macaulay affirms, "is not a progressive science."\*

But, if the fire on the altar of the unknown God can be made rise to the heavens, if on Akbar's tomb the ninety-nine names can be unified, there will be progress. The greatest events in natural theology in that portion of its history now opening and passing, seem to be the completion of the chiseling of these names and the lighting of that fire.

How are we to state the argument in proof of the existence of a personal God? How should this great chain of reasoning be constructed in the present position of philosophic and scientific and theological thought?

1. Although not strictly a self-evident truth, the existence of God is a native belief, a constitutional conviction, an ultimate idea, a spontaneous faith, an instinctive perception, an axiomatic certainty of the soul.

In the use of the phrase "native belief" I am following President McCosh's celebrated work on "The Intuitions of the Mind," the best authority on that high theme that the English language now contains. He does not admit that our perception of the Divine existence is strictly an intuition, although it has as much certainty as if it were.†

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\*Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes.

† See Professor Calderwood on "Moral Philosophy" and Prof. Samuel Harris on the "Philosophical Basis of Theism," for a defence of the view that our knowledge of God is received through rational intuition. See also, Prof. H. B. Smith's "Apologetics" and Professor Flint and Prof. Diman on "The Theistic Argument."

2. A distinction must be made between an Intuition, strictly so-called, and an ultimate idea of the Reason; and also between an axiom and an axiomatic postulate, and between a self-evident proposition and a self-evident problem, and between a self-evident truth and an irresistible native belief.

In mathematics a distinction is made between an axiom and an axiomatic postulate, between a self-evident proposition and a self-evident problem. A similar distinction is to be made in the use of self-evident truths in philosophy and theology. The Divine existence is a truth lying wrapped up in our intuitions, or the self-evident truths and axioms. A very slight analysis of them gives us perfect axiomatic certainty of the Divine existence. But, first, this analysis, or very little opening of the truths and a comparison of them with each other, is necessary. We find that the "fool can say in his heart there is no God," simply because the fool does not follow out his thoughts to the ultimate ideas enveloped in them; he will not make this analysis. The moral fool will not yield to his moral instincts, and so find God. And thus men unawakened intellectually and religiously debate on the question whether there be a God.

3. A native belief or constitutional conviction of the soul has some, though not all, the marks of self-evident truth. Among its traits are inconceivability of the contrary, persistency and consistency. One of the tests of strictly intuitive truth is, of course, self-evidence; the truth asserted in a native belief of the soul, differs from an intuition in not being absolutely self-evident, although it is so evident as to make the contrary absolutely inconceivable.

4. A native belief may result from instinct or from the simple comparison of intuition with intuition, or of intuition with instinct.

5. It is a native belief or ultimate idea of the soul that absolute being exists.

What do I mean by absolute being? Being not dependent on any other; being that stands outside all necessary relation; the first cause.

6. Atheism and agnosticism and even materialism asserts the existence of a First Cause or Absolute Being.

Herbert Spencer teaches that the existence of an absolute power, that is a self-existent, self-sustaining power, is the highest certainty of science.

If there are finite beings there must be an Infinite Being. If there are dependent beings there must be a Independent, or Self-Existent Being.

"The existence of a non-relative," says Herbert Spencer himself, "is unavoidably asserted in every chain of reasoning by which relativity is proved.\* The axiomatic truths of physical science unavoidably postulate absolute being as their common basis. Deeper than demonstration, deeper, even, than divine cognition, deep as the very nature of the mind is the postulate at which we have now arrived. Its authority transcends all others whatever."

7. The wood that is laid on the altar of the unknown God is very capable of being kindled.

Matthew Arnold goes still further and teaches that it is the supreme truth of science that "there is an eternal power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness." The great infidel, Strauss, said: "We claim for our universe and the force behind it the same pious reverence that the Christian claims for his God." It is admitted on all hands that the ultimate ground of the universe must be self-existent, the cause of all finite existence. Spencer goes so far as to attribute to this ultimate force beneficence. He will not attribute to it personality; he says we cannot know whether it is personal or not; but on that point something very incisive is to be said in the present state of the discussion.

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\* Spencer, "Psychology," Vol. I. p. 209.

8. The supreme question of philosophy has been as to the personality of the ultimate force of the Absolute Being.

9. *One step of progress in natural theology in our time has been the complete overthrow of the subtlest modern materialistic definition of matter.\**

10. *After the abandonment of this definition, atheism, agnosticism and materialism become untenable.*

11. The proof of man's personality is easy and complete; and this includes proof of his freedom and accountability.

12. *The authority of the intuitions cannot now be undermined by the theory that they are the result of hereditary transmission.*

13. Our intuitions of the good and the right as well as of the true and the beautiful, if they have been developed by hereditary descent, must have resulted from impressions continually made on the race by the Eternal Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness. We feel that Power now. But all *that is in it now must have been in it from the first*. Therefore, what our intuitions and instincts tell us now cannot be impeached. Even if you were to explain the origin of the intuitions by the theory of hereditary transmission, as no one yet has done, you would not invalidate their authority.

14. The familiar argument from the moral instincts of conscience as to the existence of God and the certainty of judgment to come remains unassailable.

15. The argument from causation in proof of the personality of the First Cause remains in full force.

16. The argument from design, or preconformity to a future event, has all its force.†

17. There is therefore in the universe *thought* not our own.

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\* See on this proposition the Boston Monday lectures on "Biology, Transcendentalism and Heredity," *passim*.

† See Janet on "Final Causes," last edition.

18. But there cannot be thought without a thinker.

19. A thinker is a person.

20. There is, therefore, in the universe, not an eternal somewhat merely, which makes for righteousness, but, an Eternal Some One, who makes for righteousness and from whom, for ever and for ever, we cannot escape.

If matter will not explain the universe, then the universe must be explained by mind. But never, in the whole history of thought, has it been more clear than it is to-day that matter will not explain the universe. The efforts of twenty centuries to frame a materialistic theory that is not wrecked by its own self-contradictions have notoriously failed. The overthrow of materialism overthrows atheism and agnosticism from turret to foundation-stone.

The subtlest modern materialistic definition of matter is as self-contradictory as any definition that it supersedes. In the name of clearness of thought scholars reject the new definition as contemptuously as they did the ancient ones. Who has given the subtlest modern definition of matter? Not Spencer, not Huxley, not Tyndall, but Alexander Bain. What are the qualities of a good definition? There should be in a definition no figurative language, no metaphor; no ambiguous word, no term, no idea not positively clear and distinct. While you keep in mind these qualities of a good definition let me recite Alexander Bain's definition of matter. He says: "Matter is a double-faced somewhat, physical on one side and spiritual on the other." What is a what? What is the side of a what? What is the face of a what? What is the side of a double-faced somewhat? Serious physical science repudiates this definition. Lionel Beale said to me, in his own study: "It is obvious nonsense; but it is very difficult to make the nonsense obvious to the mass of average readers and hearers." Professor Veitch, the biographer of Sir William Hamilton and Professor Calderwood, who is Hamilton's successor, both indorsed these words of Lionel Beale. Perhaps I cannot

succeed in making the nonsense of this definition obvious, but I have a great respect for an audience that will not allow difficulties to be skipped; and if I were not to take up this point you would say I had evaded a very difficult matter.

We have commonly been taught that there are two things in the universe—matter and mind—differing, as Sir William Hamilton used to say, by the whole diameter of being. We are certainly conscious of two sets of attributes in the objects of the existence of which our faculties inform us. On the one hand we have material objects possessing extension, from inertia; on the other, we have apparently immaterial objects, such as thoughts, choices, and emotions, without any of these qualities. Suppose that we try to talk of mind in the terms we apply to matter, and see what sense we shall make. When Cæsar saw Brutus stab, and muffled up his face beneath Pompey's statue, was his grief round or square? When Columbus first saw the New World, was his joy triangular or dodecahedral? When Lincoln manumitted the slaves, was his gladness in being of service to the race cubical or spherical? If the imagination of an ordinary man weighs an ounce, did that of Shakespeare weigh a ton? It is the most atrocious absurdity to endeavour to speak of mind in the terms that rightly belong to matter, or the reverse. Professor Bain admits that these two sets of qualities exist, and that they are opposites. He says, in one of his most famous books, that "inertia and extension are two of a long list of qualities, all present in matter and all absent in mind." Notice that concession. He admits that these opposite and antagonistic qualities cannot belong to one and the same substance at one and the same time, without self-contradiction. You cannot, of course, have a table round and square at the same time; you cannot have a table black and white at one and the same time and in one and the same place. Professor Bain abandons all

the old forms of materialism. He invents a new materialistic theory. He is a shrewd Scotchman, and he sees the necessity for a novel scheme of materialistic philosophy.

Materialism asserts, in all its forms and schools, that there is but one substance in the universe—namely, matter. Now, into that one substance, Professor Bain must put these opposite qualities, extension and no extension, colour and no colour, weight and no weight, inertia and no inertia. How does he do it? Let the qualities of matter and those of mind be represented by spikes driven into a deal-board from opposite sides. It is plainly impossible to drive the spikes from opposite sides into the same space at the same time. You cannot have in one and the same substance extension and no extension, inertia and no inertia, colour and no colour at one and the same time and in one and the same sense. Professor Bain, therefore, utterly abandons every old form of materialism. He knows that centuries of hammering have failed in trying to drive the spikes in this way. What does he do? He says that the only method by which these antagonistic qualities can belong to one substance, without self-contradiction, is the method of close succession. The only union possible in this case is the union of close succession. Now, if I were speaking only before scholars, I should say Professor Bain confuses *close succession* with *union*. No matter how close the *succession* is it is not union in any such sense as to justify him in asserting that there is but one thing in the universe—namely, matter—and that it is physical on one side and spiritual on the other. But speaking here, before a mixed assembly, I must make this point clear by an illustration. Professor Bain says you cannot drive these spikes, the qualities of matter and those of mind, at one and the same time in one and the same place, but that you may drive them by the method of close succession. He drives in here the quality of extension, draws it out swiftly and drives in no-extension; drives in colour, draws it out



swiftly and drives in no colour; drives in weight, draws it out swiftly and drives in no weight; drives in inertia, draws it out swiftly and drives in no inertia; and so he obtains what he calls a double-faced somewhat, physical on one side, spiritual on the other. In other words, Professor Bain does assert that, although you cannot by any possibility have the door yonder open and shut at one and the same time (I suppose you are all sure of that. Aristotle built his whole philosophy on the proposition that a thing cannot be and not be at one and the same time in one and the same sense); nevertheless, says Professor Bain, if you open and shut the door fast enough, if you open and shut it by the method of close succession, you can have it open and shut at one and the same time, and it will be a double-faced somewhat physical on one side and spiritual on the other, and will be an entrance to a new temple of materialistic philosophy.

Now, I ask whether this is clear, or a Scotch mist? I beg pardon of all Scotchmen here. Oh! for another hour of Dugald Stuart, or Thomas Reid, or Sir William Hamilton, to tear in tatters this web of self-contradiction. The truth is, as Professor Veitch said to me in Glasgow, that whenever competently-trained scholars read that definition they laugh at it. Is its nonsense obvious? If I had not stepped into this vapour, you would have said that I feared that a ghost is in it. It is dense and glittering, but only fog, after all.

The truth is that the doctrine that matter and mind are two distinct things never stood better than it does to-day in the highest places of physical research. Materialism has no footing on the heights of culture. I say this in spite of the fact that a number of very eminent physiologists call themselves materialists. Professor Tyndall delivered a Belfast address once, and the whole force of it was in that definition of Professor Bain's. Pulverize that definition, and you pulverize the keystone of the arch on

which atheism, agnosticism, and materialism stand in our time. Make it clear to yourselves that the opposite qualities of matter and of mind, of which we are conscious, cannot belong to one substance, and it will be clear that there must be two substances—matter and mind—throwing away utterly to the rats and the bats, atheistic and agnostic materialistic systems, and you will find yourself able to grasp with clear, scientific conviction the doctrine of natural supernaturalism. Matter may transmit force, but does not originate it. All force and motion in matter originate in mind. Natural law, therefore, is only the fixed method of action of an Omnipotent God.

As Schiller, whose muse was conscience, said :

God hides himself behind eternal laws,  
Which, and not him, the sceptic seeing, exclaims;  
There is no God;  
And never did a Christian's adoration  
So praise him as this sceptic's blasphemy.

—"Don Carlos," Act iii. Scene x.

As Fichte loftily wrote to Zeller, the biographer of Strauss :  
"Ethical theism is now master of the situation. The attempt to lose sight of the personal God in Nature, or to subordinate his transcendence over the universe to any power immanent in the universe, and especially the tendency to deny the theology of ethics, and to insist only upon the reign of force, are utterly absurd and are meeting their just condemnation."\*

The coals of fire on the altar of the unknown God of natural law are kindled and the flame mounts to the highest heaven.

This, then, is the present state of the theistic argument. That God is, we know with a certainty based on the inconceivability of the contrary and on the profoundest constitutional instincts of the soul. What He is we know in some respects, and this with a certainty really axiomatic.

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\* *North Am. Review*, Jan. 1877. p. 147.

How shall natural supernaturalism be transformed into ethical supernaturalism? How shall the testimony of the natural consciousness become that of the regenerated consciousness? A fledgling robin sits in its nest, and has not yet tried its wings. How shall it know that the air will bear it up? As tests of certainty I have given intuition, instinct, experience, syllogism. Now, if this bird were capable of reasoning, it might say that it knows intuitively that there is air around it. It feels the air, it breathes the air; but it knows syllogistically that there is air about it; for it sees the leaves stir, and reasons from effect to cause. But what, after all, gives it the conviction that the air will bear it up? That is the practical matter. *Intuition does not point out the certainty that the air will bear up its wings.* It is true that this bird might learn something from its ancestors. The air has borne up robins, and many generations of them, and, therefore, it will more than probably continue to do so. But the bird, perhaps, is a radical thinker. It is individualistic. It does not trust history. It must readjust its theology. Every generation must think for itself. How does this robin, therefore, come to a conviction that the air will bear it up? *Instinct impels the bird to try its wings.* The bird has reason to believe that instinct does not mislead it. This instinct is born with the bird, and is not the result of education. An instinct is not created to be mocked. An instinct is made right as truly as a wing. The instinct impelling the bird to leave the nest is really a scientific promise that the air will bear up the poor fledgling. There is, however, no direct intuition in the case. *But there is a native belief, a constitutional conviction.* It is in this instinct that the faith that the air will bear up the bird has its origin. It begins in no reasoning whatever, although reasoning might confirm it.

Nor does it begin by the historical recollection of other birds that the air has borne up. The instinct within the

fledgling impelling it to fly, teaches that the air can support it. At last, under the impulse of that irresistible instinct, the bird launches forth and is upborne. In the instinctive expectation, or the organic constitutional belief of that bird, we find the origin of the faith that the air will bear it up. Acting on that faith justifies the conviction. While borne up it has new and now really axiomatic certainty that its faith that the air will bear it up is justified.

Just so the human soul justifies its native belief that there is a God, and that beneath it are the everlasting arms. Our deepest organic instincts point to God and a judgment to come. We are made right. We are born to launch forth into the moral atmosphere of omnipresence and omnipotence. It is in the native, ineradicable moral instincts that the idea of God originates. A sense of dependence and of obligation points to God. It is conscience that makes cowards of us all by the thought of somewhat after death. Nature makes no half-hinges. Every organic instinct proves the existence of its correlate. Syllogistic argument may strengthen and confirm, but does not originate our conviction as to God, freedom and immortality. As, when the bird flies, new evidence is within its reach that the air will bear it up, so, when the soul becomes Christian, new evidence is within its reach that God is, and that He rewards those who diligently seek Him. When we yield to conscience, surrendering to God utterly, gladly, affectionately and irreversibly, we are upborne, we fly; and thus intuition, instinct, experience, syllogism, conjoined, make perfect our faith in God, freedom and immortality.

## THE PRELUDE.

### INTERNATIONAL REFORM IN AFRICA.

VICTOR HUGO has said that in the nineteenth century the white has made a man out of the black, and that in the twentieth century Europe will make a world out of Africa. Within the memory of those who are yet in middle life, the map of large parts of Central Africa was as vacant as that of the circumpolar regions. To-day five railways are projected to the interior of the Dark Continent. England, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Italy vie with each other in the work of pushing into the interior of Africa with steamboats, telegraph lines, and elephant trains. The British Lion stands to-day in the Dark Continent, with one foot on Egypt and another on the Congo valley, and with the rear paws on the provinces of the Cape of Good Hope.

Not long ago, a slight motion of one of these rear feet nearly scratched out of existence the Dutch colonies in South Africa. The British Lion, at that time, was under the incitation of Lord Beaconsfield. He is now under that of Gladstone and General Gordon, and is lifting one of his fore-paws over the slave trade in Central Africa, and menacing destruction for one of the hugest evils of our time. He is lifting the other over Egypt, and is, possibly, animated by the hope of ruling the whole Mussulman world. One of the great ideas of Napoleon was to restore the Mohammedan caliphate of Mecca and to bring it under a French protectorate. If he had done this he would have extended his power from the Rock of Gibraltar to the foot of the Himalayas. The secret whisper in the diplomatic circles of Europe now is that England would be very glad to carry out this Napoleonic idea.

The rebellion of great Mohammedan populations south of Egypt against the Governor of the land of the Nile, means an attack of the Arabic world on the Turkish. If a caliphate were organised at Mecca, and an Arab put into it, there is very little doubt that the Arabic Mohammedan populations of

the globe would revolt against the Turkish. At this moment England nominally supports Turkey; but if the Sick Man on the Bosphorus should be found unable to put down rebellion in Egypt and the Soudan, and if there should be organised a new headship for the Mussulman world, England would very probably endeavour to secure a leading position as Protector of Islam. She has 30,000,000 of Mohammedan subjects in India. In case of a collision between the Arabic portion of the Mussulman world and the Turkish, it would be exceedingly important that England should take the right side. General Gordon is supposed to hold the opinion that, if a caliphate should be organised at Mecca, England ought to protect the Arabic power against the Turkish. He has the hope that England may carry out the Napoleonic idea at last. General Gordon, of course, is acting for the British Cabinet, and must say nothing against Turkey; but he is believed to cherish the expectation that El Mahdi and the Arab tribes may be ultimately successful in a contest with the Khedive and Sultan.

It seems to shrewd judges highly probable that at last Arabic discontent with Turkish rule must eventuate in the founding of an Arabic caliphate. England would naturally seek to have a protectorate over it. This would extend English political power to the very heart of Africa and throughout Arabia. It would make her position more safe in India than it can be while she supports the Ottoman Empire, and while the Arabic populations revolt against Turkish rule.

This is a broad outline of the political aspect of Africa, but the philanthropic aspect is vastly more interesting than the political. Our American Stanley is to-day doing what? Something which ought to attract to his support the prayers, the financial aid, and, if necessary, the Governmental assistance of all advanced nations. In September, 1876, the King of the Belgians called together a geographical conference at Brussels, that beautiful city near the battle field of Waterloo. The five great powers of Europe—England, France, Austria, Germany, Russia—with two of the minor powers—Italy and Belgium, were represented in it. The United States had no representative in the conference. The result was that there was formed not a political, but a philanthropic international organisation, having the unofficial support of the different thrones; for what purposes? For two—the promotion of commerce and civilisation, and the destruction of the slave trade in the Dark Continent, especially in its central portions. The region between the Zambesi and the Soudan was taken as the special field of the new enterprise. Mr. Stanley was engaged to represent the

Association in the valley of the Congo. How large is that valley? It has a population probably more numerous than that of the United States now is. The Congo runs through Central Africa much as the Mississippi does through the American Union; and whoever rules it has control of the tropical region of a continent containing one-sixth of the population of the globe.

It is suggestive that England a few weeks ago passed, in the House of Commons, a resolution that no nation shall be allowed to acquire permanent rights on the banks of the Congo without her consent. This was not intended as an assertion of the exclusive rights of England there by any means; but is meant as a shield over the International Association as well as British interests. The plan of the Association is to found villages that will become, ultimately, what President Arthur has called them already, "the nuclei of States." Our American President, in his recent message, asked Congress to take measures to protect our interests on the Congo, and to assist Stanley and the Association he represents in putting an end to traffic in human beings. My chief purpose this morning is to call attention to the immense international value of the principles underlying this scheme of King Leopold and his associates, and to insist upon it that the United States ought to be represented in the high work of aiding in the regeneration of Africa.

What is the present condition of the slave trade in the Dark Continent? On the floor of Westminster Abbey there is a black slab above the spot where David Livingstone lies at rest until the heavens be no more. In the inscription on it are these words, which he wrote in Central Africa in his last days: "All I can say in my solicitude is, may heaven's richest blessing come down on everyone, American, English, Turk, who will help to heal this open sore of the world." Livingstone writes in his journals that he saw such sights in the slave trade in Africa that he could not sleep for memory of them. In ordinary cases he could forget unpleasant scenes; but he made the utmost efforts to cast out from his mind his recollections of the horrors of the slave trade, and was wholly unable to do so. He had seen, again and again, villages burned, their inhabitants captured while running from the flames of their own houses, the aged men and the feeblest women were put to death, the sick persons slaughtered, and the young and the middle aged carried away into a bondage worse than death. The best estimates authorise the assertion that more than half a million lives are yet annually lost in the African slave trade.

You remember that a town called Kuka, in the province of

Bornou, is one of the principal slave marts. From this accursed spot large caravans of slaves annually pass across the desert to Murzook, the capital of Tezzan. We are told, on the authority of most trustworthy travellers, that this whole route, of nearly 1,000 miles, can be traced by the skulls and bones on either side of it. In this slave mart at the present day you may buy a boy for from fifteen to thirty dollars; a girl, unless she is handsome, for from thirty to sixty dollars; and, in case she has beauty, for thrice that money; an old man or matron for from three to ten dollars. There are carried across the desert some 10,000 slaves every year; and yet this one centre represents only the Soudan. You have another slave mart at Khartoum; thousands of captives are driven to that city every year from the atrocious seribahs, or man-hunting camps of the Upper Nile. Another centre of the trade is the upper valley of the Congo. Sir Bartle Frere affirms that more than 400,000 lives are lost annually in the slave trade, although only from 80,000 to 90,000 negroes each year reach the coast alive. The number who die in the battles at the villages, or who are slain because of some infirmity, or who perish on the way across the desert, Livingstone says may be sometimes five or ten times the number of those that are strong enough to be carried out of the country. The head of the Catholic mission in Central Africa estimates 1,000,000 as the loss which the slave trade inflicts annually on the Dark Continent. This statement will not seem incredible when you remember that this trade ranges over a territory as extensive as Europe, and containing at least 80,000,000 of inhabitants.\*

Is it too much to hope that the principle Daniel Webster put into the Ashburton Treaty may at last be applied to the slave trade on the land? He agreed with Lord Ashburton that our ships should be used with those of Great Britain to put down piracy and the slave trade on the seas. That arrangement did not bring us into any entangling foreign alliances. I do not for an instant forget Washington's advice, that we should keep out of responsibility for the contests of Europe. But here is a great International Association, England, France, Germany, and other leading powers, all agreed, not officially and formally, but in a philanthropic style of organisation, to unite their efforts to establish villages and stations for the use of explorers, and as a means of promoting civilisation and putting down the slave

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\*See "Africa and the Brunels' Geographical Conference," by Emile Banning, Member of the Conference. Chap. iv.; also Berlioux's "*Le Traite Orientale*," and Professor Blaikie's "*Personal Life of Livingstone*."



trade across the whole breadth of Africa. Our Republic lags behind. This country has not yet asked to be represented in that International Association. It is one of the provisions of its constitution that "the President shall have power to admit to the Association countries which are not represented at the Conference." There is a Belgian special branch, an English, German, Russian, Austrian, and Italian branch, but, as yet, no American. Our President, calling on us to send a ship to the Congo to assist Stanley in maintaining his position in the valley of that mighty river, is asking us, practically, to assist the best scheme of international reform in semi-barbarous nations that history has seen since the tide of recorded time began to flow.

You are interested in the question, who shall be the next President; you are concerned as to the affairs of your street and club; you live in the silken cocoons of your easy lives, and forget this majestic philanthropic enterprise in Africa, forget foreign missions there, and, what is still more marvellous, forget your own commercial interests there. I beg you to remember that, after all, the chief incitement of the European powers to assist reform in Africa is commercial. Britain has mighty political motives, some of which I have glanced at; but how vast are her commercial motives also. There come from Africa, to the commercial nations, all the precious products of the tropics—ivory, cotton, coffee, camwood, ostrich feathers, coal, iron, copper, india-rubber, palm-oil, gold, diamonds, and, I may say, slaves, except to those nations that have abolished human bondage. How is it that we do not see that American merchants have interests in Africa as well as British? Africa may ultimately supply the world with most of the peculiar products now obtained from the Indies. Consider what the trade of England is with her Indian Empire. India receives from Great Britain annually 400,000,000 yards of cotton goods. The same trade is well begun in Africa. There went to that country 98,000,000 yards of cotton goods in 1878, besides large quantities of other articles. From the seacoast of Africa there were exported into Europe more than eight million dollars worth of palm oil in 1879. There are received in England annually a million and a-half pounds of ivory from Africa.\*

It is enough to say that the trade with Africa may be ultimately far more important to England than that with India, and England to-day is supported, in some sense, by the market

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\*See the Rev. J. O. Means's paper on "The Proposed Mission in Central Africa," p. 8.

she has in India and Asia at large. The opening of Africa, if England obtains control of a lion's share in it, may prolong the commercial pre-eminence of Great Britain a hundred years. Are we to sit still and make no response to the appeal of our Chief Magistrate when he calls upon us to protect our own commercial interests in the valley of the Congo, and to assist an American explorer who is founding there nuclei of States? It is for the merchants to take up this matter. We are very torpid on the topic of our commercial interests in South America. Great Britain is, in some respects, in advance of us in obtaining access to the immense markets south of the equator on our own Continent. Is she to be for ever in advance of us in Asia and in Africa? With a population which soon will be twice that of the British Islands, are we not to have foresight, sagacity, enterprise enough to sustain an International Association which will open Central Africa to commerce and civilisation, maintain its political neutrality, and abolish the slave trade?

I dislike exceedingly to make appeals to selfish motives; and I would not do so if these motives were not so vast in size, and if they were not the front of the case to so many eyes. I look at this commercial aspect of Africa not askance, but directly; for all Europe is looking at it in that style. It is not too much to affirm that the centre of the Dark Continent is at this moment shot through and through by competing commercial enterprises; and one of my reasons for asking your attention to this fact is that I believe that, unless the Christian Church makes haste to introduce missions into Africa, the ground there will be trodden hard by the hoofs of avarice and burnt over by the fires of greed and fraud before our missionaries can reach the spot.

The religious aspect of the Dark Continent is the supreme motive which should stir us to aid international reform in Africa. On what spot could I speak on that subject with more appropriateness than in Boston? Yonder sit, in the rooms of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, certain statesmen, as I love to call them—advisers in great international religious affairs. Not long ago an American citizen gave one million dollars to that Board, and the wise men governing the funds appropriated a generous portion to the support of missions in the Dark Continent. A scholar whose recent separation from us we mourn, a hero of religious reform, a man of most unselfish, devout, chivalrous spirit, who had been in Africa in his earlier years, was sent to Europe to make inquiries as to the proper ground on which to found

a mission. He visited England, France, Germany and Belgium, and had a long interview with King Leopold. Rejecting seven other places, the Board selected one called Bihé, in the upland tract east of Benguela, and is there founding a mission which it is hoped will be a lighthouse for vast regions of Central Africa. In Umzila's kingdom, north of Natal, another watch-tower is being erected. I make my best plea for the support of all missions in Africa, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, even Catholic, as well as those of the American Board. I do this in the name of the saintly one whom we all loved ! I do it in the name of him over whose grave we are standing—John Oliver Means, of this city—whose memory may God bless and make a pillar of fire, leading us into more enthusiastic endeavour for the reform of the Dark Continent. I do this in the name of all the missionaries now on African soil or buried beneath it. I make this appeal in the name of Livingstone himself. On the first day of May, 1873, in Chitambo's village in Ilala, this great explorer was alone in his hut in his last hour. He rose and knelt at his bedside, and in the morning was found in the posture of prayer, with life fled. That picture of Livingstone dying in the attitude of supplication for Africa, commending the Dark Continent to the Avenger of the oppressed and the Saviour of the lost, let it stand colossal, and draw unto Africa enterprises from all the world in support of his schemes for the introduction of commerce, the abolition of the slave trade and the promotion of Christianity.

Africa must be reformed by Africans ; but the natives must be led by whites for more than a day and an hour, and by educated freedmen from both Europe and America. Let us reinforce, on both sides the sea, all enterprises for the education of freedmen. I appeal to all the heroes of African descent on our soil, who feel drawn to work for Africa, not to be disobedient to the heavenly vision.

As Guizot has said, there are two Englands, a Tory and a Republican, an unscrupulous and a Christian England. A representative of Christian England, unattended, has lately crossed the dangerous desert and delivered himself to the inhabitants of Khartoum. This General was once temporarily ruler of the Soudan. He was so just, he was so full of manliness and even of tenderness, as well as of courage, that the black nations in that broiling clime came to regard him as their father. He opposed slave hunting. He did his utmost to limit the horrors of the slave trade. The secret purpose of General Gordon is to be seen in what he was doing just before he was sent on his present most hazardous mission. He had

been in Belgium consulting with King Leopold a few weeks previously to the time when Mr. Gladstone selected him for his present enterprise. It was the plan of General Gordon to go down the Coast of Africa, ascend the Congo, and make a tour from the headwaters of that river to those of the Nile, perhaps gathering an army by buying slaves, manumitting them, and then forming them into regiments. He was to act under the power of the International Association. He expected to have a battle with the Niam-Niams, one of the most barbarous of the tribes under the equator, and the one that does most to keep up the slave trade. He intended to come down upon Khartoum from the headwaters of the Congo. It was his high purpose to tie a cord around the cancer of the slave trade of Central Africa, and cut it all up by the roots. He has not given up that purpose, you may be sure, in spite of what the despatches tell us of his not abolishing slave-holding. He has abolished slave-hunting to the extent of his power. If you are told he has fallen from his high position as the opponent of slavery, do not trust the rumour; or, attribute his action to the orders of his superiors, or to the necessities of events, and not to his inclination. General Gordon may be expected to turn out a man of principle; for all his days he has been almost an inspired defender of the semi-barbarous races. He it is who led the conservative forces of China to victory against the Taeping rebellion. He it is who, when Russia wished to make war on China and the Celestial Empire seemed ready to accept the challenge of the Northern Bear, made a little trip from London to Peking and advised the Emperor not to accept the challenge of Russia; for, with the superior organisation the Western Power possessed, it might easily have crushed the Chinese Empire. Among the fragments of the wreck there would have been many which England and France would have claimed. The Chinese Emperor did not see these facts vividly until General Gordon made them plain to him. The military philanthropist dropped back to England. He has been employed at the Cape and had lately put himself under the control of King Leopold when Gladstone sent him up the Nile to his present most hazardous position. This man is a soldier to his finger tips. He is a Christian to the innermost fibre. It is one of his habits to spend, sometimes, whole nights in prayer. He lately crossed the desert, through hostile camps, without any one to protect him, and with only his secretary and one other person in his company, and appeared before the gates of Khartoum. He proclaimed that there shall be no more Bazouks. He publicly burned in the market place of that city

the tax books and the whips and whipping posts. So popular is he with the Arab tribes that they call him the Sultan of the Soudan. He probably has in his own hand the power to put down a revolt and to keep vast Arab populations in order by simple justice. So rare is justice in Central Africa that the career of General Gordon in the Soudan was not forgotten, as so many expected it would be. England feared, as we watched him on his course up the Nile, that he would be killed before he reached his recent position. Christianity at the centre of the Dark Continent has been and now is a flaming torch in the hand of General Gordon. It is a lofty beacon in the hand of many a missionary station. Let us put the torch of Christianity into the hand of the International Association. Let us hold up that hand by the combined philanthropic power of England, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Belgium, Italy, and last, and not least, the United States.

## QUESTIONS.

1. *What are the prospects of the Jordan Canal ?*

Very poor if the Ottoman Empire continues in power ; very good if it is overthrown. The chief difficulty in carrying out the enterprise of cutting a canal from the Mediterranean to the Jordan and from the Gulf of Akaba to the Dead Sea, will be found in obtaining a firman from the Sublime Porte permitting such a large alteration in the physical geography of Palestine. For one, I am exceedingly interested in the mere proposal (although as yet the enterprise is little more) to admit the waters of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea into the great depression in which the Dead Sea lies, and so make a lake extending from the bluffs south of that sea to the north shore of the Sea of Galilee, and filling up the whole cavity of the Dead Sea valley till the water should arise to within ten miles of Jerusalem. That city might be thus transformed into an important commercial centre. It might become the joy of the whole earth in commercial particulars as well as in religious. Napoleon said that the mere physical advantages of Constantinople ought to give her political, or, at least, commercial primacy in both Europe and Asia. The physical advantages of Jerusalem, were the Jordan canal cut, would be as great as those of Constantinople. A large inner lake would alter favourably the climate of Palestine. It is only about twenty-five miles from the shore of the Mediterranean at Acre across the plain of Esdraelon to the Jordan. The chief obstacle to

the cutting of the Jordan Canal would be found in the bluffs south of the Dead Sea. The Red Sea ends on the north in two gulfs, that of Suez and that of Akaba. There are bold bluffs and a considerable upland region between the Gulf of Akaba and the depression in which the Dead Sea lies. It would require much expense to cut through it. Nevertheless, no such expense as the Mont Cenis Tunnel or as our building of the Pacific Railway necessitated. The first accurate surveys of this region are now being made. Once through this obstacle the waters would wear a channel for themselves, fill the Dead Sea and Jordan up to the level of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. There would thus be made a magnificent passage for ships. The Suez Canal is very narrow; you are allowed to move ships in it only four miles an hour. When the cholera induces caution, the quarantine stops the passage of vessels. In time of war there is no possibility of securing swift passage except by consent of Great Britain. Vast commercial interests demand a second canal. It is said to be cheaper to cut one through Palestine than through the sands of Egypt. It is by no means impossible that civilisation may yet see ships passing 1,300 feet above the present level of the Dead Sea, and so making the transit from European to Asiatic waters. The Holy Book predicts that on certain ground, which has been dry from the commencement of Jewish history, fishermen shall cast their nets; and on precisely that ground they would cast their nets were this canal dug. I make no prophecies; neither do I insist that this is a correct interpretation of these prophecies; but the *London Times* has discussed this project; a great company has been formed to carry it through; and it deserves attention as showing that, even under the hoof of the Sultan, Palestine cannot remain a hermit region.

2. *Is there anything better than Butler's Analogy and Paley's "Evidences" and "Natural Theology" to be read on the subjects of which they treat?*

Yes and No. There is no book in existence in the English language superior to Butler's "Analogy" as a reply to the Deistic scepticism of his day. It is perhaps not too much to assert that Paley's "Evidences" and "Natural Theology" are, as yet, unsurpassed in their form and style, although their matter is, of course, greatly in need of being supplemented by more recent discussions. These three books are not outgrown. Not one of them can be skipped, especially not the "Analogy," which Edmund Burke used to recommend to infidels as a cure for scepticism, whenever they had brains enough to understand it.

3. *What one modern work best summarizes the whole range of Christian evidences?*

The subject of the Christian evidences has become too vast for a single volume. No one work in English can be mentioned which now covers the whole ground on this field as effectively as Paley's "Evidences" did at the date at which he wrote. A second Paley is much to be desired; but his appearance is hardly to be expected. The argument in proof of the supernatural origin of Christianity was never more unanswerable than it is to-day; but its various portions must be studied in separate volumes.

4. *What is the best modern work in defence of the argument from design for the existence of a personal God?*

Professor Paul Janet's "Final Causes" is an elaborate monograph which stands, in its last edition, fully abreast of current discussions on this theme.

5. *What works are to be recommended in the field of the historical evidences of Christianity?*

In English, I have personally derived most benefit on this theme from the celebrated Bampton Lectures, delivered annually at Oxford University, and especially from the well-known writings of Prebendary Row, of St. Paul's Cathedral, who was the Bampton lecturer for 1877. His work on "The Supernatural in the New Testament," and his Bampton Lectures, together with Professor Geo. P. Fisher's "Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity" and on "The Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief," deserve a very high place among recent discussions of the Christian evidences. To these may profitably be added Canon Liddon's lectures on "The Divinity of our Lord," Horace Bushnell's "Nature and the Supernatural," with the best of the lives of Christ, including particularly those of Weiss and Edersheim.

6. *What is the best single book on Christian miracles?*

In English, Canon Mozley's Lectures.

7. *What of the publications of the London Christian Evidence Society?*

They are all to be commended for popular use. Many of them have been republished by the firm of A. D. F. Randolph and Co., of New York. The Society ought to be imitated, with improvements, on this side of the Atlantic. It is a very serious conviction of mine that a Christian evidence society, carefully adapted to local wants, ought to be maintained by the universities and churches of every Christian nation, and especially in populations now passing from inherited misbeliefs to Christianity, as in India, China and Japan.

8. *What of the Mormons in revolt against the polygamous priesthood of Utah.*

Their revolt shows that in ordinary circumstances the Mormon priesthood holds the vote of Mormon populations at its own disposal. The rebels against priestly authority, in this matter, are most of them American by birth. They live in an obscure county of Southern Colorado, and are not likely to be imitated speedily by the foreign-born Mormons of Utah. Only some 300 have refused to vote according to the dictation of a Mormon Bishop, and it would not be surprising if they were subjected to terrible persecutions and perhaps their leaders to death for their audacity. The case shows how dangerous to American institutions is the political power of the aristocracy of the harem.

9. *What has Monsignor Capel said as to the American common school system and Catholic parochial school?*

Monsignor Capel is the Pope's echo. He is reported as favouring parochial schools for Catholic children, and asking for a division of the public school fund and a separate appropriation to Catholics. He indorses, of course, the Papal Syllabus of Pope Pius IX., in which it is affirmed that it is an error to hold that the system of instructing youth, which consists in separating them from the Catholic faith and the power of the Church, and in teaching exclusively, or, at least, primarily, the knowledge of natural things and the earthly ends of social life alone may be approved by Catholics.

10. *What mischief would follow from adopting the principles of the Papal Syllabus and Monsignor Capel as to common schools?*

Ask Spain. Ask Mexico. Ask the Papal States in Italy. Ask Gladstone and Prince Bismarck. Romish priests, when they have had their own way, never yet gave in their parochial primary schools instruction enough to fit a population for the duties and responsibilities of a free government. It is unsafe to allow the Pope to govern primary schools in a free nation. The formation of state sectarian schools would convert the appliances of education into the means of proselytizing, intensify religious clannishness, give all education a sectarian bias from the first, destroy the efficiency of the school system, and include many of the historic evils of the connection of Church and State. A priesthood which wishes to do, in the United States, what it has done in Spain, Mexico and Italy, is an enemy of the social and industrial interests of the Roman Catholic American masses. Without better education than parochial schools have given in Romish countries, the semi-



illiterate Catholic population, when brought into competition with the educated masses of the American people, drop into inferior positions, are obliged to act as hewers of wood and drawers of water, and become low-paid, pinched subordinates in the ranks of labour. Monsignor Capel is an able, devout and eloquent ecclesiastic. That a prelate of his ability and tact should assail the common school system of the United States is a suggestive sign of the times. He is, no doubt, sincere in demanding religious instruction for the young. American common school exercises, like the German and the best of the English, can be made to include in the future, as they generally have done in the past, a certain amount of entirely unsectarian religious instruction, and so take all force from the Catholic cry that the common schools are irreligious and godless. Intelligent American populations will defend their common school system as the safeguard of the Republic, and cannot rationally be expected to consent to a division of the school fund among sectarian organizations.

## THE LECTURE.

### *PROGRESS IN NATURAL THEOLOGY.*

James Anthony Froude, not many years ago, ventured to publish the assertion that the foremost scientific minds of Great Britain are abandoning the belief in a personal God. The charge simply excited amusement in the highest scientific circles of Scotland and England. In reply to it I need to read only the answer given at the time by Professor Tait, of the University of Edinburgh: 'When we ask any competent authority who were the 'advanced,' the 'best,' and the 'ablest' scientific thinkers of the immediate past in Britain, we cannot but receive for answer such names as Brewster, Faraday, Forbes, Graham, Rowan Hamilton, Talbot and Herschel. This must be the case, unless we use the word science in a perverted sense. Which of these great men gave up the idea that Nature evidences a designing mind? But perhaps Mr. Froude refers to the advanced thinkers still happily alive among us. The names of the foremost among them are not far to seek. But, unfortunately for his assertion, it is quite certain that Andrews, Soule, Clerk Maxwell, Balfour Stewart, Stokes, William Thomson, and such like, have each and all of them, when the opportunity presented itself, spoken in a sense altogether different from that implied in Mr. Froude's article. Surely there are no truly scientific thinkers in Britain further advanced than these.'\*\*

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\* Professor Tait, *International Review*, Nov. 1878.

I venture to affirm that in Britain there are two schools of philosophy—one inside universities, accredited and regular; another outside, a guerilla school, led chiefly by a few men of a certain eminence in London, with Herbert Spencer and Professor Huxley among them, and with noisy supporters in the literary world. In Germany there is a university school in philosophy, and a guerilla school also. When you study closely the current history of Europe, and see these two schools in collision, you will find that it is not with the guerilla school that the mastery of the future seems likely to abide. Hartmann and Schopenhauer, for instance, in Germany, belong to the anti-university, the guerilla type of discussion. Herman Lotze, the foremost philosopher of the age, represents the highest German thought. There are many bright minds in the guerilla school—Heaven forbid that I should deny that—but, after all, they no more represent the substantial convictions of the learning of Europe than some guerilla writers on our side of the Atlantic, whom I will not mention, represent the opinions of the leaders of thought in the United States. I was asked often in Europe, if Theodore Parker did not represent the most advanced and generally prevalent theology in New England. I said that was not my understanding of the case. Europe had heard more of him than of anybody else in the New England pulpit. We see how a few here have been mistaken for the majority, and how American theology and philosophy are misinterpreted in Europe, simply because deep currents do not make a noise. Just so in Europe the deepest currents are theistic; and because there is really no important opposition in the highest circles of learning, and no foam raised by boulders in the current, we think there is no stream at all. We have seen and heard, at home and from afar, the shallow streams with boulders in their currents, agnosticism, atheism, materialism. Let us not fear that they are flooding the higher thought of

Europe, simply because they make more noise than the deep, silent, stately rivers that reflect heaven.

What is the present attitude of advanced theistic thought among the foremost men of science in Great Britain?

I might divide British schemes of thought into the London scheme and the Edinburgh scheme, the Oxford and the Cambridge scheme; for there is much rivalry among the Universities, but it would not be safe to call the system of thought I am about to describe a Scottish scheme merely. It is true that some of its best defenders are in Scotland; but some of the best are in London, Oxford, and Cambridge. I call this the accredited system of thought which responsible authorities in philosophy are now indorsing in Great Britain. I outline it for its own sake, and also as a means of showing what immense progress natural theology has made within the last generation.

1. Matter and mind differ by the whole diameter of being. All attempts to make their qualities the properties of one substance only, are hopelessly self-contradictory.

2. Matter does not move itself. It may transmit force, but it does not originate force.

3. Wherever matter exhibits force, motion, or arrangement implying design, that force, motion, arrangement originate in mind.

This was precisely the doctrine of Professor Pierce, of Harvard University, in the last course of Lowell Lectures which he gave; it was the philosophy of Agassiz; and yet you hear from a few foppish philosophical circles of Cambridge a defence of agnosticism. To which philosophy is Harvard attached? We know very well, and we are perfectly willing both sides should be heard; but we ought to be unwilling that, through mere clamour, the public should be misled as to the real positions of responsible thought in this high matter.

4. Wherever we find heat, light, electricity, we infer the motion of the ultimate particles of matter as the cause;

wherever we find motion of the ultimate particles of matter, we infer force as the cause; wherever we find force, we infer SPIRIT, with Intelligence and Will, as the cause.

Do you say that I am citing theological authority? I beg your pardon. Look into a book which I wish could be circulated broadcast throughout the nation—and not a very new book either, but one fairly abreast of my topic—“The Conservation and Correlation of Force,” edited by Dr. Youmans, of New York, and you will find in it the now really classic paper of Professor Grove, ending with these words, which are the summit of accredited science in our time: “Creation is the act; *causation is the will of God.*” I remember that, when these doctrines first came to my vision, I could think of nothing else for months. They stormed over me for years as the tropical rains above the palms of the Amazon.

5. Matter may be only visible force. The omnipresent will may be its substratum, as well as the substratum of mind.

6. The visible universe had a beginning.

7. Every beginning requires a cause.

8. The seen universe, therefore, must have originated in an unseen universe.

I hold in my hand Professor Tait's famous volume entitled “The Unseen Universe,” and also the “Life of Professor Clerk Maxwell”; and I am doing little more now than summarizing their chief positions, sometimes in their own language, but not in their order of statement.

9. Atoms have such a constitution that they may be justly compared to manufactured articles.

This celebrated phrase was first used by Sir J. T. D. Herschel. It was reiterated by Faraday and Clerk Maxwell; and it is now steadily employed by the foremost representatives of the theistic school in Great Britain.\*

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\*See “Life of Professor Clerk Maxwell,” p. 393.

10. An ether or material substance of inconceivable tenuity, must be supposed to fill all interspaces between world and world.

11. This substantially omnipresent ether is the largest, most uniform, and most permanent object known to science.

12. As the sea is older than the fishes in it, so the ether is supposed to have existed before the formation of the systems of gross matter in worlds and atoms that now exist within it.

You think no responsible man will talk of the ether in a tone of assurance ; but here I have the biography of Clerk Maxwell, and it is the answer which he made to the Bishop of Gloucester who wrote him asking him what the truth is about the ether, and Clerk Maxwell says that as the sea is older than the fishes in it, so the ether is supposed to have existed before the firmament or the system of worlds and atoms now in it, and that out of the ether these worlds and atoms must have come. It is tolerably certain that the sea must have existed before the fishes ; and we cannot carry out our present scientific theories of undulations, transmission of light, heat, electricity, without supposing there is a medium in which undulations are produced. Writing, therefore, with purpose of having his words printed, Clerk Maxwell here indorsed that theory as the necessary outcome of the very best knowledge we now possess as to the origin of worlds.

13. Perhaps atoms are only vortex rings produced by the power of an omnipresent spirit in the ether.

14. The eternity of the atom is a doctrine which can only be held by ignoring the fundamental principles of scientific inquiry.

15. The invisible universe may be eternal and infinite, but not the visible.

16. We are forced by a purely scientific process to

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Professor Tait.\*

recognise the existence of an unseen universe, and by scientific analogy to conclude that it is full of life and intelligence.\*

17. Natural laws are only the method of action of an Omnipresent Infinite Will.

18. We must not affirm that the universe is governed by natural laws but only *according to* natural laws.†

It is so important that we should drive out of our minds the paganish style of our modern speech, according to which we say the universe is governed by natural laws, that I pause here for a single illustration. What if I should affirm that this book is written by the law of spelling and grammar? I should be uttering absurdity. What is a law of spelling? It is a method of operation and not an operator; it is a process, not a power; it is merely the method which intelligence follows in putting together the letters of these words. What is a law of grammar? A process, not a power; a method of operation, not an operator; it is merely the process followed by intelligence in arranging words in these sentences. I have no right to say that this book is written *by* laws of spelling and of grammar; I have only a right to affirm that it is written *according to* the laws of spelling and grammar. The laws are only methods and processes and account for nothing. Intelligence behind the laws and choosing those methods which the laws represent, accounts for the book. Just so in the book of the universe, we must not say that it is written by the laws of light, heat, electricity, chemical affinity, gravitation, and the other forces; we must not affirm that the universe is governed by natural laws; for they are only processes, methods of operation, not powers, not operators. The universe is governed not by natural laws, but only *according to* natural laws, by the Omnipresent Will in which all force originates. We are

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\*Professor Tait

†Dr. Carpenter.

benighted, belated, pagan in our style of thought, if we allow ourselves to speak of natural laws as anything other than methods of the divine operations. Natural supernaturalism never stood better on the heights of science than it does at the present hour.

19. A life for the unseen through the seen is to be regarded as the only perfect life.

20. "*What we are driven to is not an under-life incident in the atom, but a divine over-life, in which we live and move and have our being.*"\*

21. The mystery of matter and energy, the mystery of life and mind, and the mystery of God—these three are one.

22. "We must give up the idea that energy can generate life."†

23. The atomic theory itself forbids the supposition that the mechanical and chemical qualities of matter explain life and growth.‡

24. As life demonstrably exists before organisation, so it may after disorganisation. There is no proof in physiology that death ends all, but rather the reverse. ||

In these propositions is to be found the basis of great advances, by no means yet wrought out to the full, in natural theology. I solemnly believe these principles to represent the foremost culture of Europe, and yet, you would not be led to that conclusion by newspaper reading. There was a medical convention in London when I was abroad, and Professor Huxley made certain wild assertions before it as to the power of matter to explain everything. Professor Tait had just been answering Herbert Spencer. You must remember that Professor Tait, of Edinburgh, is one of the greatest mathematicians as well as one of the

\*Professor Tait.

†Professor Tait, Professor Beale.

‡See Prof. Clerk Maxwell's article, entitled "Atoms," in the last edition of the *Encyc. Brit.*

|| Prof. Lionel Beale.



greatest physicists of Scotland. Professors Huxley and Tyndall, though very great in their departments, are by no means as great as Professor Tait is, or Prof. Clerk Maxwell was, in the application of mathematics to the investigation of scientific themes. I hold in my hand a document which Professor Tait gave me, in which he said I would find his deliberate, published opinion of Spencer's philosophy.\*

"When the purposely vague statements of the materialists and agnostics are stripped of the tinsel of high-flown and unintelligible language, the eyes of the thoughtless, who have accepted them on authority, are, at last, opened, and they are ready to exclaim with Titania,

'Methinks I was enamour'd of an ass.'"

That is the style not merely of conversation, but of careful documents issued from high quarters of science in England against agnosticism and materialism, and yet you seem to think that Mr. Spencer leads the advanced thought of the British Islands. I have no right to go into private parlours and studies and report what has been said to me. I cannot state even what was uttered on such occasions when it accords with what the persons I conversed with have published. But I happen to hold in my hand the very latest utterance of Lionel Beale, a lecture delivered before the Victoria Institute and entitled "Dictatorial Scientific Utterances and the Decline of Modern Thought."

As your outlook committee, I feel it my duty to read a few short passages from this authoritative source. Professor Beale gives these opinions of the chief philosophers of agnosticism :

"Herbert Spencer, strange as it may seem, affirms that crystals *grow*, and that non-crystalline masses of various kinds *grow*. He declares that the accumulation of carbon on the wick of an unsnuffed candle is an example of *growth*. . . . There will be found some of the very remarkable

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\* See *Nature* for November 19th, 1880.

inferences upon which his system of evolution in part rests, and which may be clearly proved to be erroneous. Indeed, not a few of the assertions he makes may be answered by a direct contradiction, with advantage to the cause of truth. Non-living things do not *grow*, as he affirms, while all living things and every form of living material *does grow*, although he says, with respect to a living plant, that its increase is not *growth*. . . . The *growth* of the most minute particle of living matter is, as I have stated, a vital process, and is due to the operation of a force or power absolutely distinct from ordinary energy and from every form of force of non-living matter. Every kind of aggregation is absolutely distinct from growth, and does not involve the latter. Processes of aggregation may go on to all eternity without the occurrence of any change resembling or allied to that of growth. *Growth*, after all, is but one of several purely vital phenomena.

“It would be tedious were I to repeat the dictatorial utterances in argumentative form which have been published far and wide for the purpose of leading people to believe that a living thing was like a watch or a steam-engine or a hydraulic apparatus. Moreover, some of the comparisons have been voluntarily abandoned by their authors in favour of others even more absurd. Such tricks as calling a watch a *creature* and a man a *machine* are hardly likely to mislead even the most ignorant after they have withdrawn themselves from the bewitching influence of the persuasive eloquence of the materialist prophet, and have commenced to calmly think over his extraordinary utterances, in order to extract any meaning that may be hidden by the frothy metaphors of modern physico-vital conjecture. . . .

“This, the dullest, the narrowest, the most superficial of all creeds—materialism, which includes some mixture of anti-theism and theism of various forms and hues—has been half accepted by hundreds of persons during the last

few years. I believe all materialistic doctrines, vary as they may in detail, will be found to agree in accepting as a truth—if, indeed, they are not actually based on it—the monstrous assumption that the living and the non-living are one, and that every living thing is just as much a machine as a watch or a windmill or a hydraulic apparatus. . . . Profestor Huxley has been continually propounding and putting forward conjectural utterances of the kind, during the last twenty years, and it is surely now time that something more substantial should be brought forward in support of the dogmas than conjectural chains of causation. . . . Between purely *vital* and purely *physical* actions not the faintest analogy has been shown to exist. . . . Within a very few years the hypothesis of molecular machinery will probably be forgotten, and the operation of vital power, as distinct from any ordinary force of matter, will be generally admitted and taught. . . . Look at it how you may, you will not discover the smallest speck of firm ground of truth upon which to build any form of the materialistic doctrine.”\*

These utterances show on what high theistic ground the accredited school of British philosophy now stands. I affirm that the loftiest scientific minds with which I am acquainted in Great Britain are on their knees in presence of a personal God. Professor Tait says that the great advance of the future in natural theology is to be found in the corridor now opened up between science and religion, not through the material world, but through the immaterial. He believes that the reconciliation of conflicting schemes of religious and scientific truth will be found by investigating what he calls the unseen universe. That avenue has been walled up; there has been placed over it, in the name of both science and religion, a sign containing

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\* “Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute, or Philosophical Society of Great Britain,” August, 1882, pp. 201-227.

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the words : " No thoroughfare this way." In the twentieth century, that wall will be thrown down from turret to foundation-stone, and scientific and religious thought will be reconciled by an appeal to the realities of the unseen world.

## PRELUDE.

### CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION.

THERE are two passions in the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon races stronger than the love of drink. They are the love of home and the love of liberty. Tacitus paints all three of these passions in our ancestors. Our German forefathers were accustomed to make up their ideal of Heaven by using scenes drawn from drunken bouts and contests of fierce warriors. In the great hall of Valhalla the supreme bliss consisted in hewing adversaries to pieces, and then drinking mead out of their skulls. If you wish to know what the innermost traits of a people are, notice what kind of Heaven they built for themselves in imagination when they were pagans. But Tacitus tells us, also, that those same ancestors of ours so revered woman and the home that they were accustomed to whip the adulteress through the streets and bury the adulterer alive in the mud. The love of liberty in these tribes was such that Rome never conquered them. For some hundreds of years now, the cause of constitutional liberty on the earth seems to have been committed by Providence to the care of the Anglo-Saxon races. In our Republic the time has come when we begin to perceive that we must either prostrate the liquor power or allow the home to be invaded, and our liberties under representative institutions to be gradually curtailed, and perhaps put in jeopardy. The day has arrived, therefore, when the two strongest passions of the Anglo-Saxon, love of liberty and love of home, are to be locked around the neck of the liquor trade and the latter broken once and for ever.

What overthrew slavery? Its wickedness; its industrial, social and moral mischievousness; but chiefly its arrogance, its attempt to rule the nation. At the present moment there is a petition before Congress from the Liquor Dealers' League, asking that a constitutional amendment be passed by the nation for ever prohibiting prohibition. Let this one trade, with its grasping selfishness, its accursed clannishness, endeavour to

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put its hand on the throat of American freedom, and there will be retaliation of the same kind that there was when slavery took us by the throat. Our last emancipation consisted in making an outlaw of the slaveholder when he bearded us; our next emancipation may consist in making an outlaw of the liquor trade when it attempts to beard us.

Why may we reasonably hope that, after a considerable period of agitation, constitutional prohibition may be enacted by the people in the various states, if not, ultimately, by the nation at large? I raise this question, first of all, because, in discussing constitutional prohibition, the chief obstacle to obtaining a hearing is the hopelessness of reformers. My reasons, then, for believing that constitutional prohibition may ultimately be enacted by the people are these:

1. The liquor dealers have a clear percentage of profit of about eight cents out of every ten of their sales; and with this vastness of unrighteous income they are likely to be persistent in defending what they call their privileges. The liquor trade is becoming arrogant, defiant, rebellious; and this attitude will rouse the people to declare it an outlaw. "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad"; and on this arrogance of the liquor trade is founded my first hope, not for its regulation merely, but for its extinction. Our ex-Secretary of State, the Hon. William M. Evarts, said lately at a New England dinner at the mouth of the Hudson: "The great problem is whether from small beginnings and this great expansion, this firm and secure edifice for justice and liberty can be preserved, if we allow any selfish or sordid interest, however vehement, to encroach upon our demands that the body of this people shall be kept industrious and temperate and strong. *I do not like to see the power of margins dominating over the masses.* I do not like to see the suffrage used constantly against the power of the great mass of the people without regard to political parties, by combinations of a selfish kind to hold a rod over the aspirations of the public men of the country. I have seen what I never expected to see in a country like this, a new band of L.L.Ds.—a league of liquor-dealers—that are going to determine what shall be the law and what the methods as between temperance and intemperance in this country. That is not a matter of party; it is a matter of common pride and manhood of the American people."

Let the question of temperance legislation be fairly presented as one between margins and masses, and the masses will obtain victory over the margins.

2. Constitutional prohibition has been enacted already by

great majorities in certain states which are not under the control of corrupt cities; and we have yet about twenty such states.

3. Petitions are now before the legislatures of seventeen states, asking for the submission of the question of constitutional prohibition to the people.

4. Statutory prohibition has been tried for a quarter of a century. In Maine, where its execution has been the most thorough, no political party now dares to take ground against it.

5. In great numbers of counties, cities, and towns local option amounts to local prohibition. In Massachusetts, 256 out of 364 towns and cities have refused to license dramshops.

This looks as if the majority of the serious people of this commonwealth are really in favour of prohibition. Constitutional prohibition is only a superior form of local option.

6. It has been found by experience in Kansas, Iowa, and Ohio, that men of all political parties and even many intemperate men vote for constitutional prohibition when it is presented, unencumbered by any other issue, to the whole body of voters.

I have spoken for constitutional prohibition in Kansas and Iowa when it was a beleaguered cause, and, in the golden October days I was defending this cause in Ohio. It is very serious reading for the whisky rings, the official statement that 323,000 votes were called out in the new mother of presidents, Ohio, in favour of constitutional prohibition at the very first trial.

7. The ravages of the liquor traffic grow more terrible as cities increase in size. One-fifth of our population now lives in cities of 8,000 or more inhabitants.

8. The ratio of crime in states where liquor saloons are allowed by law is 100 per cent. in excess of the ratio in those states where they are prohibited. Each individual of the nation pays to the General Government one dollar seventy-one cents annually. Each individual in the three prohibitory states pays three cents and a fraction only.

You are shrewd New Englanders; are you? Well, I was not born in New England, but in the commercial State of New York; and yet my ancestry runs back to Plymouth Rock. I have a right to ask you to look at the financial aspect of this question when Kansas, the newest New England, pays to the General Government, for her population, only eight cents *per capita*, while you are paying one dollar sixteen cents. The difference is explicable chiefly by the action of the prohibitory

law in that state, and of license in this. Are you to sit still under this state of things for ever? Are you to lie down supinely under the heel of the whisky ring and never protest? You are not New Englanders unless you demand liberation from unjust and unnecessary burdens imposed upon you for the benefit of one small class and in opposition to the interests of the whole people.

9. Powerful new organizations, embracing the whole nation, such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, are demanding constitutional prohibition, both state and national.

10. The liquor dealers themselves fear the success of constitutional prohibition so much that they are now petitioning Congress to initiate measures for securing an amendment to the National Constitution for ever prohibiting prohibition.\*

These are my reasons for believing that I am not discussing a hopeless cause. And, now, to come at once to the heart of my topic, let me raise the central question, Why is constitutional prohibition better than any other form of temperance legislation?

1. Constitutional prohibition takes the question of temperance legislation out of merely partisan politics and puts it into the hands of the people at large.

2. Experience has shown that, under party government, by universal suffrage, the legislature is not the proper place in which to deposit discretionary power in dealing with the liquor traffic.

The Hon. Mr. Finch, of Nebraska, has emphasized this point with such vigour of thought and weight of moral earnestness, that I pause only to point out the fact, which all history shows, that, under the action of our party government thus far, whisky rings have often and easily bought their way to power in important contests. We have had, for a wonder, prohibition passed under party government several times. In some states that have no very great cities it has been kept on the statute book; but it has been erased in most states where great cities exist. The whisky rings wished to have it erased and were able to buy their way to victory. Many a state politician, many a city government is a mere tool of the whisky rings. That is a commonplace fact of politics in our yet young municipalities. Do you believe that, as the cities increase in size and party government has in it more and more of greed and

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\* See the recent powerful and brilliant defences of Constitutional Prohibition by the Rev. A. H. Plumb—*Congregationalist*, Feb. 27th. and the ev. Daniel Dorchester, "Drink Sophistries."



trickery, it will be safe to leave to the legislatures the control of the liquor traffic? Are we to give discretionary power to legislatures in States whose laws are notoriously evaded or defied by the whisky rings in their great cities, and whose legislatures those cities largely control?

3. Constitutional prohibition presents the question of temperance legislation, untrammelled by any other issue.

4. It makes repeal as difficult as adoption, and so protects the expressed will of the people. As it can be passed only by the people, it can be repealed only by the people at large. Both adoption and repeal are necessarily under forms that prevent hasty action.

5. It necessitates legislation and secures a fair trial of the law before it is repealed, and gives agitation the fruits of its victory.

6. It closes one of the worst avenues of political corruption,; for a legislature under constitutional prohibition can vote only one way.

7. It undermines the distillery interest, as a steady execution of statutory prohibition has done in Maine, and so vastly weakens the financial power of the whisky rings.

8. The power of the whisky rings must be overthrown, or Republican government will be a farce in great cities.

9. We have had centuries of license, and under it the drunkenness of the land has grown up. High license will not make the rich dealers keep the poor unlicensed ones in order; for the rich will sell to the drunkard and the minor, and be open to retaliation if they prosecute the poorer dealers for violating the law.

Do you seriously believe that lifting the tax for a license from 300 to 500 dollars is likely to overthrow the mischiefs of the liquor trade? Have we not had very high license already, and have we not seen those who have taken out licenses at a considerable cost violating the law? Most of the men who have licenses under a high license system, sell to drunkards and minors. Their hands are not clean. How can they use their soiled palms in smiting their poorer neighbours who do not observe the law? You affirm that high license will make the few rich dealers keep the poor dealers, who have no licenses, in order? I have two reasons for not accepting your opinion on that point: First, history; second, human nature. History is, that men who have high licenses to sell to drunkards and minors, violate the law in various ways—not all of them, but most of them—and they cannot, with any moral dignity, attack their neighbours who have no license and

who violate the law by selling liquor. If suits were brought by the rich men against the poor men, retaliatory suits would be brought, and the whole trade would be in hot water. Do you believe the house of the liquor dealers will thus divide itself against itself? Are you such careless readers of history as to believe anything of the kind? We are told by certain men, whose opinions in general I respect, that high license is to cure the evils of the liquor traffic. When has license elevated to 300 dollars approached doing that thing? If you can show me any such approach by the lifting of license, I shall begin to believe that 500 dollars or 1,000 dollars will do something for it. We have had high license in various cities, east and west; we have it now in Chicago; but it is notorious that it is an inefficient measure. I am opposed to every license law on principle; but I am also opposed on the ground of expediency. You ask me if I am a rebel against the laws of the commonwealth in which I happen to be a citizen. By no means. If you have a license law on the statute book I will help to execute it. God bless the Citizens Law and Order Leagues! But, although I will assist you in executing a license law, so help me Heaven I will never vote to license any dram-shop, large or small, at a high price or at a low. Nay, I say with John Gough, that I had rather be the most corrupt liquor seller that ever stood on the pavement than the man to grant him a license! At this point, however, I am emphasising history, and the argument of expediency in the case. And yet I would not have you forget that the friends of constitutional prohibition, although they have not taken ground on other issues, are, most of them, opposed to license in any form. Most of them would help execute license laws; but you will find very few of them voting for such enactments.

10. It is the preference of a majority of our population to have prohibition in some form, if woman's choices are counted.

Not an advocate of extreme views on the topic of woman's rights, I am yet in favour of counting woman's vote on temperance issues. In regard to these central points touching our peace and purity, in regard to a matter which lies so close to the home and the fireside, I maintain that in municipal suffrage we ought to count the vote of resident, intelligent, tax-paying women. Who doubts, if such votes were counted, that constitutional prohibition could be passed. In Arkansas the law is that when women sign petitions against license their names are taken as so many votes in an election. Even without woman's vote, there would probably be found in most of our states a majority

of votes for prohibition, were it presented as a simple issue, wholly disencumbered from partisan politics.

11. Constitutional prohibition is the measure most feared and detested by the whisky rings.

12. It is the only measure that seems likely to uproot the liquor traffic.

Two bills are before Congress proposing an amendment to the National Constitution outlawing the liquor trade. You say this will be confiscation. You quote John Bright to me, speaking under very different circumstances, in England and under a monarchy. Remember that you are in a republic, and that all history proves that the ballot box cannot be safely rested on a drunken people. The law of self-preservation, I hold, justifies us in studying our experience and following its dictates, whatever British precedents may be. We are to think for ourselves on this topic; for our peculiar circumstances never have been paralleled in the whole recorded stream of time. Lord Beaconsfield used to lift his jeweled finger and point across the Atlantic and say: "No American city is well governed." I believe that is true of our twelve largest cities now, each having more than 200,000 inhabitants; Boston, New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, here on the Atlantic slope; Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans in the Mississippi valley, and San Francisco on the Pacific slope. It is very nearly true of Pittsburg, Buffalo, Toledo and Detroit, which are just under 200,000. It is becoming true of cities of the size of Worcester, Springfield, Hartford, New Haven, Albany. Into what are we drifting when nearly a quarter of our population lives in great cities, and when municipal government is a hissing and a byword with us already? You must spoil the whisky rings of their political power, or they will not only corrupt your homes but undermine the possibility of safe government under universal suffrage in great cities.

Let us lock the mighty passions of the Anglo-Saxon races, love of home, and love of liberty, like two clasped hands, around the neck of our worst temptation, love of drink; let the heart of Almighty God beat in our civilization and give strength to the two arms which move these hands; and so, having seized by the throat the wreathing reptile which threatens our life, let us unwind the scaly horror of its folds from our body political, social, and moral; let us free ourselves completely from this coiling curse which has been constricting our civilization for ages; let us transform Laocœon into Hercules, and trample the giant serpent under foot!

## QUESTIONS.

## 1. "Were Bible wines fermented or unfermented?"

Both. There are wines spoken of in the Scriptures that are denounced with the full vigour of the Biblical rhetoric. There is a wine spoken of in the Bible that our Lord Himself used. In certain passages the excessive use of wine is condemned; in others the fruit of the vine is spoken of as a blessing. I do not enter here and now into a discussion of the different Hebrew and Greek words used in these references; but they appear to me to justify the assertion that the Bible speaks of two kinds of wine, or of one kind of wine in two states, and not merely of two kinds or degrees of the use of one and the same kind of wine.

## 2. "Do any facts known as to our Lord and Saviour's use of wine justify modern drinking customs as to wine?"

There are those who believe it both falsehood and blasphemy to assert that our Lord and Master put the intoxicating bottle to his neighbour's lips. I make a distinction between *strictly non-alcoholic* wines and *practically non-intoxicating* wines. There is one school of temperance reformers which thinks it important to maintain that the wine used by our Lord had not the slightest alcoholic element in it. This may have been the case. I do not undertake to assert that it was not. Such a denial could hardly be established, because the unfermented juice of the grape was widely used in Palestine in ancient as it is in modern times. It is utterly futile to claim that the juice of the grape cannot be kept in an unfermented condition for years. It is unscholarly to assert that the ancients did not understand the simple process of heating the juice of the grape to about 180 degrees, sealing it up so that the air could not have access to it, and so keeping it without fermentation. That is substantially the process in modern times, and we have reason to believe it was a process not unknown in ancient times. But what if I could not prove that there was absolutely no alcoholic element in the wine our Lord used? I should yet be able to affirm that the wine He used was *practically non-intoxicating*. *I think that can be proved beyond a peradventure*. It may be proved on the basis of His character. You say His enemies called Him a wine-bibber. Yes; and a more blasphemous libel, perhaps, was never uttered, during the earthly life of Christ our Lord, concerning any of His personal habits. Are you to repeat that libel 1800 years after it was answered by our Lord Himself? Accursed be any theory of history that affirms

that our Lord and Saviour put the dangerously intoxicating wine cup to His neighbour's lips! A friend of mine, a young Syrian, who was translating "Butler's Analogy" into his native tongue when I was at Jerusalem, told me that the Bethlehem wines, the Jerusalem wines, and the Hebron wines are to-day so light and unintoxicating that you must ordinarily drink twenty-four cups to produce the slightest effect even upon a person of nervous organisation. If one wishes to reach the beginning of intoxication, one must send, so my informant said, for Cyprian wines, or order mixed wines, such as the Scriptures denounce. Now I will not maintain that, in no case, did the wine used by our Lord have the slightest conceivable alcoholic element. Nevertheless I think it never has been proved that our Saviour used fermented wine. I will not make myself responsible for the assertion that all the wine He used was absolutely unfermented; but I will for the assertion that He never put the dangerously-intoxicating bottle to His neighbour's lips. When, therefore, gentlemen come forward and say that our Lord drank wine, and that, therefore, we may drink wine, I stand aghast at the frivolity of such a position, at its blasphemy, at its historic and logical heedlessness and mischievousness. I must assert this, although very lofty authorities have held an opposite view. Distilled liquors were not known until many centuries after the founding of Christianity. Intemperance has poisoned our blood in modern times. If our Lord and Saviour were with us, can there be a doubt but that He would knot up the whip of small cords and purge our society of all drinking habits that are temptations to diseased blood?

3. "*Did Arnold Guyot teach that there is harmony between Genesis and geology in respect to the order of events in the earliest physical history of the globe?*"

He did, most emphatically. I need only point to his recent book, entitled, "Creation," for a full answer. Professor Dana, the greatest living geologist, has taught almost precisely the same positions. There has lately been much heated discussion in London on the harmony of Genesis and geology. Sound and calm views on this vexed theme you will find in Guyot's "Creation" and Dana's "Geology." Arnold Guyot was our greatest physical geographer, and one of the most devout Christians that ever lived.

4. "*Was Professor Ulrici a believer in a spiritual body?*"

Yes; but in a very guarded theory concerning it, fully consistent with biblical truth.

5. "*Was he a spiritualist?*"

No.

6. *"Is usury lawful? Is there any divine command against taking interest?"*

There is a divine command to the Jews not to take interest of their brethren; but the Jews were allowed to take interest of those who were not their brethren, and have acted upon the privilege many centuries. I would not treat this theme lightly; for there are many who think that the Bible prohibits the taking of a lawful interest. I cannot so interpret it.

7. *"Ought the United States' eight-hour law to be enforced or repealed?"*

Enforced, for the good of both employers and labourers.

8. *"What city is most worthy of imitation in municipal reform?"*

Brooklyn. The proof is that acute New York is imitating the municipal methods of her sister city. They consist chiefly of the concentration of power and responsibility in the hands of the mayor, who can be held to a strict account at elections and by the press. The rules of Civil Service Reform are to be applied, of course, to cities as well as to State Governments.

9. *"What is the difference between probation after death and a purgatorial preparation?"*

The Roman Catholics teach the doctrine of Purgatory; but they do not believe in probation after death. They believe that the wicked grow worse; and that those who are imperfectly sanctified may have a period of purgation in another life; but that the state of every man is determined, as the Scriptures assert it is, by the deeds done in the body.

10. *"Do a majority of the Congregational churches in the United States hold that the issues of the final judgment are determined by the deeds done in the body?"*

My conviction is that a majority do hold this doctrine most earnestly. Why do I judge that this is the case? Because, east and west, and north and south, the creeds which are read on admission of members to Congregational churches usually contain this doctrine. Probably it would be found on exact investigation that in seven cases out of ten this is the actual fact. How am I to know what Congregationalists hold if I am not to ascertain by their solemn reading of the articles in which the convert, in the greatest act of his life before a public audience, professes his belief when he is received as a church-member? Quite recently, in the Mt. Vernon Church, I heard the creed read; and in it was the great statement that the issues of the judgment are determined by the deeds done in the body. The truth is in the hymns most used in revivals and missions. If there are any conspirators in the ranks of Con-

gregationalists, who wish to issue a statement to the effect that the Congregational body does not hold this doctrine, they must reverse the record of a great majority of the Congregational churches—a record written in the holy of holies of their proceedings as they admit converts to the communion service. I repel the statement that the Congregational body is loose on this topic. It is sound in the West and Middle States where Presbyterians and other powerful and aggressive evangelical denominations watch it. It is a little unsound where Unitarians and Universalists watch it here in New England.

11. "*Who is to be Keshub Chunder Sen's successor?*"

It is announced from India that his relative, Babu Mozoomdar, who was so lately with us, is to be recognized as the chief of the twenty-four apostles of the Progressive Brahma Somaj. He is now 44 years of age, and united with the Society in 1862. He was on ship-board off Madras, on his return from a tour of the world, when news reached him of the death of his great leader.

12. "*In what faith did Keshub Chunder Sen die?*"

In the faith in which he lived. He believed with his whole soul in the necessity of the New Birth. It is my deep conviction that he had experienced it. His religion consisted in utter, glad, irreversible submission to the voice of the Holy Spirit in the soul. He rose from his sick bed in one of his very last days and appeared in the sanctuary of his house. A new room was being dedicated for devotional purposes, and his first words before the assembly were the Hindu ones, BABA MA, meaning simply Father, Mother—both used as names of God; and then he offered prayer and made a short address filled with every evidence that the spirit of all truth and tenderness was with him. To his last moment there was abounding proof that he was in the deepest communion with God in secret prayer. There was often sung at his bedside a hymn with these words:

"If possible, O Beloved, remove this cup. But not my will, but thine, be done in this dire distress. Body, mind, and life are thine. Do thou with them as thou wilt. Only, with clasped hands I ask for this blessing—grant unto me peace, patience and strength."

Was this man saved? you ask. Was Mr. Garrison saved? Were Phocion and Aristides and Scipio saved? God forbid that I should make myself a judge in matters so high and unspeakable. I am questioned as to my reasons for expressing merely a hope as to Aristides and Scipio and even Mr. Garrison. It is my devout hope that the Atonement made by our

Lord avails for all who yield utterly, gladly, affectionately, irreversibly to the still small voice in conscience, and so in reality experience the New Birth. The saints of the Old Testament knew nothing of the Atonement as an historic fact. Abraham knew nothing of it. But the eternal arms were under these souls; and so I believe that in every nation he that experiences the New Birth by the action of the Spirit which is given to us all, is saved by the Atonement, not by good works. Every mouth shall be stopped, every soul shall be made guilty before God. Such souls may be saved, as I hope Socrates was saved, as I hope Plato was saved, as I believe infants are saved by the merits of our Lord and Saviour undergirding them in the darkness. It is the Atonement and that only which saves; but no soul is saved without the New Birth. I express only a hope that these men I have named had yielded to the best they knew, and yielded utterly, gladly, affectionately, and that by the grace of Heaven they had experienced the New Birth. Study the case of Cornelius with all the light that Scripture throws upon it. Nothing that I have said overlooks the necessity of the New Birth. No man is saved except by the Atonement.

Keshub Chunder Sen was placed on a bed of sandal, his form was covered with a sheet of white silk. In the evening twilight his earthly remains, his countenance strangely noble and peaceful, were laid on the funeral pile on the banks of the Ganges. An immense concourse gazed at the scene. When the body was laid on the bier his followers chanted these words: "As the True, the Intelligent, the Infinite, and the Blissful, He manifests Himself. He is the Peaceful and Merciful God. He is One without a second. He is holy and sinless." The chief mourner, Karuna Chunder Sen, the eldest son, then held a torch in his right hand and solemnly applied it to the pyre, saying: "In the name of God I apply this holy fire to the last remains of the deceased. The mortal shall burn away and perish; but the immortal live. O Lord! the departing soul is rejoicing in Thee, in Thy blissful abode." As the body began to burn, the mourners in one voice cried out; "*Glory be unto the Redeemer, who is Truth, Wisdom and Joy. God's grace only availeth. Peace, Peace, Peace! Victory to God!*"



## THE LECTURE.

### *LIFE, NATURAL AND SPIRITUAL, FROM THE OMNI- PRESENT GOD.*

Great advances in Natural Theology may be expected from the application to it of two principles never yet thoroughly used in the field of religious research.

(1) The Law of Continuity, or the principle that every state of things in the universe has its antecedent.

(2) The Law of Biogenesis, or the principle that all life is derived from pre-existing life.

An exact definition of the first of these laws would show that it is based on the axiomatic conviction of the soul that self-evident truth is true everywhere and at all times. Every change must have a cause. This proposition is true in the sun and in Sirius, as well as on the earth. It has been true in all past time, and will be in all future time. In the sphere of self-evident truth the universe is of one piece. Our confidence in the universality of self-evident truth makes us certain that, in the study of the universe we shall not be put to permanent intellectual confusion. "The principle of continuity," says Professors Balfour Stewart and Tait, "leads us, whatever state of things we contemplate, to look for its antecedent in some previous state of things also in the universe; and it means that the whole universe is of a piece, and that it is something which an intelligent being is capable of understanding, not completely nor all at once, but better and better the more he studies it."\*

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\* "The Unseen Universe," pp. 21, 269.

The law that all life comes from pre-existing life has so often been discussed on this platform that I need pause only to cite the now classical formula: *Omne vivum ex vivo*.

Applying the Law of Continuity and the Law of Biogenesis to the explanation of matter and life, the necessities of thought lead us to an Unseen Universe as the origin of both.

Look first at the fact that matter originates in the Unseen Universe. Scientific theism has always had a right, but in our age it has a new right to assert this unflinchingly in the face of atheism, agnosticism and materialism.

1. An atom is a body which cannot be cut in two.
2. A molecule is an inconceivably small particle of matter made up of atoms.
3. Molecular particles, besides certain fixed relations of the atoms or groups of atoms composing them, are supposed to have peculiar and invariable methods of vibration.
4. These modes of motion of the ultimate particles of matter account for what we call light, heat, electricity, and other natural forces.
5. But matter is inert and incapable of originating force or motion.
6. We must account, therefore, for the motions of the ultimate particles of matter by something which is not matter, and which, therefore, belongs to the Unseen Universe.
7. Light, heat, electricity have been, so far as science can determine, the same in all ages. They are the same in all parts of space to which research can reach.
8. We can account for their sameness only by assuming the sameness of the molecular groupings and motions from which they originate.
9. We must account for the origin of the sameness of the molecular groupings and motions.

10. We must account for the persistence of that sameness in all the clash of forces upon each other throughout the universe.

A particle of hydrogen now in the water of the ocean has perhaps been floating through the waves, or rains, or snows, or rivers, or clouds, since the world began. Another particle of hydrogen has been a chemical portion of a coal-bed for millions of ages. Another has been in a meteorite, flying through spaces outside the world. But the three particles have the same properties and retain them in all vicissitudes. So, too, light is the same in the sun and Sirius and Arcturus. This implies the sameness of certain molecular groupings and motions of inert matter in all these orbs. The chemical elements, as the spectroscope shows, must be substantially the same in the sun, in the stars, and in the earth. Science now is bold enough to affirm that, in all the turmoil of particles in the past history of the universe, certain groupings and motions of atoms have not changed. Fixed in their combinations, they have gone through the processes of what we now call Nature, and have remained what they were at the outset. What inference does science draw from that large fact?

11. As Nature does not change these properties, it must be concluded that Nature does not originate them. These groupings and motions have not been changed by the action of the present order of things; therefore, we infer that they were not originated by that order.

As Clerk Maxwell affirms, "*the molecules did not originate in the present order of Nature.*"

12. But as molecules are made up of atoms, and as molecules have not changed their properties, it is known that the constant peculiarities of atoms, as well as of molecules, are incapable of adjustment by any forces now in action.

13. Atoms are known to possess uniformity of qualities and so be spoken of as having the most marks of manufactured articles.

14. The conception of a multitude of uniform atoms existing from eternity is absurd, as it includes no explanation of the uniformity.

15. Atoms and their groupings and motions cannot be eternal and self-existent.

16. Matter must have been created. It must have come from the unseen portion of the universe.

Students will recognise in this series of propositions the essential portions of the modern atomic theory as defended now by the most advanced school of physicists and theists. So far are they from being in real debate, that they are nearly all of them contained in the somewhat celebrated article entitled "Atom," contributed to the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by Prof. Clerk Maxwell, the profoundest of all modern students of the atomic theory. He says in this article: "The equality of the constants of the molecules arises from a particular distribution of matter; a *collocation*, to use the expression of Dr. Chalmers, of things which we have no difficulty in imagining to have been arranged otherwise." If, then, the various processes of Nature to which the molecules have been subjected since the world began have not been able in all that time to produce any appreciable difference between the constants of one molecule and those of another, we are forced to conclude that *it is not to the operation of any of these processes that the uniformity of the contents is due. The formation of the molecule is, therefore, an event not belonging to that order of Nature in which we live.*

The law of Continuity requires us to go back step by step from subsequent to antecedent, so that when we reach the organisation of atoms and of their groupings and motions, we come at last to the Unseen Universe—to the substance of Absolute and Infinite Being—to the Mind and Will of the Omnipresent God.

Having traced back matter to the Unseen Universe, let us now trace back natural life to the same source.

As to the impossibility of accounting for life by the properties of matter, Prof. Clerk Maxwell says: "Molecular science forbids the physiologist from imagining that structural details of infinitely small dimensions can furnish an explanation of the infinite variety which exists in the properties and formations of the most minute organisms. . . . The properties of a germ are not those of a purely material system."\*

It follows from these positions that life is the cause of organisation, and organisation not the cause of life—precisely the opposite of the teaching of materialism.

1. Life is one of the things or states of things in the universe.

2. But the Law of Continuity requires us to find the antecedent of every such state.

3. The law of life from life (Biogenesis) requires us to hold that every living germ has a living antecedent.

4. The first germ requires a living antecedent.

5. That antecedent must be a living agent.

6. That agent must be in the Invisible Universe.

The Christian system recognises such an agent in the Lord and Giver of Life.

God is represented, in the Christian system, as not only above the universe, but as also within it. His transcendency modern theism asserts, as well as His immanency.

There is a giver of existence, substance and force to the material world—God, the Son.

There is a giver of life—God the Spirit.

7. Natural life as well as matter comes, therefore, from the Unseen Universe.

As Professors Balfour Stewart and Tait affirm: "There is an intelligent agent operating in the universe, one of whose functions is to develop energy; and also there is an intelligent agent, one of whose functions is to develop life."†

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\* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Article "Atom," p. 42.

† "The Unseen Universe," p. 245.

"The Christian system recognises such an agent." One Person of the Trinity is regarded as having "entered from everlasting into the universe, in order to develop its objective elements, matter and energy; the other has also entered from everlasting into the universe, in order to develop its subjective element, life."\*

"The doctrine of the Trinity, or something analogous to it, forms, as it were, the avenue through which the universe itself leads up to the conception of the Infinite and Eternal One."†

"The burden of showing how the early Christians got hold of a constitution of the Unseen Universe altogether different from any other cosmogony, but similar to that which modern science proclaims, is transferred to the shoulders of the opponents of Christianity."‡

You say these thoughts have not yet been worked out in natural theology. You are right; but progress in this direction will be only an increase of the emphasis the Church has been accustomed to put upon some of the most mysterious and unspeakably sacred of Biblical truths. As all the leaves in a forest quiver in one wind, so all lives in the universe have their being in the Omnipresent Christ.

After tracing back matter and natural life to the Unseen Universe, let us study spiritual life, or the religious regeneration of the natural life. Is this, also, to be traced back to the Unseen Universe, under the law of Biogenesis, that life must always come from pre-existing life? This is, in many respects, one of the most fascinating and momentous questions raised by the progress of natural theology.

1. One meaning of the Law of Continuity is the continuousness of laws throughout the universe of space and time, matter and mind.

2. The Law of Continuity, thus defined, requires us to

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\* P. 230.

† P. 255.

‡ P. 270.

believe that there is a close analogy, perhaps an identity, between the laws of the natural life and those of the spiritual life. The *phenomena* of the two kinds of life are *analogous*; but possibly the *laws* are *identical*.

2. The law of life from life (Biogenesis) may be expected to apply to the spiritual as well as to the natural life.

4. In the natural world the inorganic cannot develop itself into the organic. The dead cannot make itself alive. The world of living matter is shut on the side of the world of dead matter. Although the upper sphere may reach down into the lower, there is no power in the lower to develop itself into the position of the upper. There is no spontaneous generation.

5. In the world of matter and natural life the inorganic must be touched by the organic; it must be *born from above* in order to have life, since all life comes from pre-existing life.

6. So the inorganic in the spiritual world cannot develop itself into the organic. In the spiritual life the dead cannot produce the living; there is no spontaneous generation. *The spiritual life is not the product of merely natural forces.* This principle, once established, undermines half the false religions of the globe, and especially those most fascinating in ages filled, like our own, with reliance on the powers of the unaided nature of man.

7. The commencement of a truly spiritual life—that is, of a religiously regenerated state of soul—requires an antecedent.

8. That antecedent must be a living agent.

9. That agent must reside in the Unseen Universe.

10. But this, too, is a Christian doctrine. The Christian system recognises such an agent in the Lord, the giver of spiritual regeneration.

11. Conversion, therefore, as a change from death to life, has its illustration in the scientific law of life from life.

Unless dead matter be *born from above* it cannot enter into the sphere of natural life.

Unless a spiritually dead soul be *born from above*, it cannot enter into the sphere of spiritual life.

12. Science shows that the ultimate principle of natural life and growth in all its forms is one Omnipresent Agent in the Unseen Universe.

13. So also, it shows that the ultimate principle of spiritual life and growth in all its forms is one Omnipresent Agent in the Unseen Universe.

14. This Omnipresent Agent of spiritual life and growth, scientific theism shows to be the King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible—the only true God.

15. The same Omnipresent principle of all natural and spiritual life and growth, Christianity shows to be the Omnipresent Christ, the Lord and Giver of Life, the Logos, by whom all things were made and in whom all things consist. "He that hath the Son, hath life." "He that hath not the Son, hath not life." \*

It will be startling to some minds to find all these propositions maintained in the name of a scientific natural theology. Whoever would study the growth of this scheme of thought should familiarise himself with the writings of those physicists who have discussed, with most clearness and authority, the great modern scientific topics of the conservation and correlation of force and energy, the atomic theory, the molecular constitution of matter, the origin of life, the law of continuity and especially that of Biogenesis.

Clerk Maxwell, Jevons, Sir Wm. Thomson, Lionel Beale, Dr. Carpenter, Helmholtz, Balfour Stewart and Tait, and most especially the younger Fichte, Ulrici and Herman Lotze must be carefully studied in detail by any one who would place himself in contact with the freshest thought concerning the relations of science to natural

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\* See Professor Drummond. "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" pp. 1-94.



theology. Already a book published but a short time ago by Professor Drummond, of Glasgow, on "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," has run through ten editions. I do not indorse everything in it; but it is a suggestive work. Although evidently based on the volume of Professors Stewart and Tait on the "Unseen Universe," it has much originality. It is only the beginning of discussions of its theme that seem sure to make the twentieth century rich in a really organising and redemptive theistic faith.

Such are the chief positions of an advanced theistic school in English, Scottish and German philosophy. They are whispers to which a man cannot listen without blanched cheeks as he ascends the heights of the most daring research in natural theology in our time. Atoms are manufactured articles. Matter originates in an Unseen Universe. The groupings and motions of its particles can be explained only by the action of mind. An Omnipresent God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, is the principle of all natural life and growth and of all spiritual life and growth. At the summit of accredited theism, and at the most advanced natural theology, we find not only the truth that in God we live and move and have our being, but also the certainty of the necessity of the New Birth by the gift of that Holy Spirit, which is a present Christ.



## THE PRELUDE.

### NEW PROPOSALS ON THE DIVORCE QUESTION.

Save the Family and you can save the State ; otherwise not. Save the Family and you can save the Church ; otherwise not. Therefore, I do not hesitate to say, Great is the State, great and sacred is the Church, greater and more sacred is that divine institution which we call the Family.

President Dwight was alarmed in his time that there was one divorce to every hundred marriages in Connecticut. To-day, the newsboy sometimes calls out on a train entering Chicago, "Twenty minutes for divorces."

Loose divorce laws foster consecutive polygamy.\*

Leprous Mormonism lifts up its odious hands and points to New England as guilty of more polygamy than Utah. A French commission sent to our International Exhibition of 1876 reported that the United States needed nothing so much as regular ethical instruction in the schools and a thorough treatment of the topic of marriage and divorce by the State and the Church. Professor Legge tells us that he asked a Chinese student once which were the better, the Chinese or the English schools, and the reply was: "The English, in all matters scientific; the Chinese, in all matters moral." I often heard the claim made by native Asiatics of culture that parents are more honoured in the Orient than in the Occident. I quote these indefensible but not unnatural opinions in order to show that the eyes of the self-reforming hermit nations are upon us. Mr. Seward said, when he came home from his tour of the world: "There are no homes in Asia." If Asia reverences the Occident for one thing more than another it is for the purity, the permanence, and the moral beauty of its Christian homes. Let the Orient take into its soul the suspicion that the home is not safe here under the sunset, and the rising sun of Japan, of China, of

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\* See Rev. L. W. Bacon's scathing satire on "New England Polygamy," *Princeton Review*, April, 1883.

India, will be clouded by doubt as to the worth of Christianity itself. *If you wish to do something for missions, put down your loose divorce laws.* If you wish to do something for the reorganisation of society in Japan, China, India and other semi-pagan countries of the globe, see to it that semi-pagan notions do not invade your own jurisprudence as to marriage and divorce. This topic, as is too often forgotten, has an international interest, a world-wide application to the most vital interests of humanity.

Ernst Renan said in Paris, and the whole world heard: "Nature cares nothing for the ideas of the New Testament as to the family." Matthew Arnold replied on American soil: "It may be that Nature cares nothing for these ideas; but *human* nature cares a great deal." Now, we must insist upon it, that not merely human nature, but Nature, as a whole, has enacted monogamy, and that the eternal constitution of things points the finger of scorn at any civilisation which does not know that what God hath joined together man should not put asunder. That mysterious and holy law by which the numbers of the sexes born into the world are kept in balance is under the control of the King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible. That law is only the method of His action, and is not likely to be repealed on account of many ages of our clamour. Let us make human laws on the topic of divorce a re-enactment of the divine method of action.

About to uncover terrible crimes in American society, I must protest, in advance, that I do not think the better classes with us are as corrupt on the topic of divorce and irregular social relations as what are called the higher classes are abroad. Within sight of my native Adirondacks, there stood a stately mansion, built by a British aristocrat, Sir William Johnson. Study of his career cured me of reverence for corrupt aristocracies. History tells you a fact which I hardly dare cite—that he had a hundred children. What Mormon of our day, however sunk in the depths of debauchery, deserves to receive more excoriating thunderbolts than the man in lofty social position who acts like a Mormon, and yet does not call himself such? One theory now used in explanation of perhaps the darkest experience in Goethe's social life is that he was led into temptation by court customs which made divorce easy. A friendship of his with the Frau von Stein had intensity and permanence such as no other of his many attachments showed. He entreated her to obtain a divorce from her husband and become his wife. Her persistent refusal drove him to marry, at last, Christine Vulpius. The marriage took place in 1806,

seventeen years after the birth of his son, whom he left in the care of Herder, on going to Italy for the first time. This terrible passage in Goethe's experience the deep, domestic heart of Germany does not forget, nor forgive. Perhaps he never obtained his pardon for it from his own soul.

The aristocracy of Europe, in many sections of it, is notoriously corrupt; and yet the corruption does not show itself in public statistics. My firm conviction is, that American society, in its upper portions, is much purer than European society in its upper portions. In the wealthier and more fashionable parts of society our civilisation will compare favourably with the best abroad. As I recite the facts of our social condition you will think that I am putting my own land to shame; but I beg you to remember that, after all, divorces have increased in this country chiefly in the classes outside the Churches, and in circles not noted for their intelligence or virtue.

I raise three questions: (1) What is the extent of the mischiefs of loose divorce? (2) What are the causes of these mischiefs? and (3) What are some of the remedies for them?

On the authority of great experts on my theme I cite here a number of facts which ought to be burned into the public conscience. I am chiefly indebted for these statistics to the Hon. Carol D. Wright, the chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labour, and to the Rev. Samuel W. Dike, Secretary of the New England Divorce Reform League, who has made himself the foremost authority in the United States on the topic of marriage and divorce. Once a fellow student with me at Andover Theological Seminary, he was then dreaming on this great theme. When I was discussing marriage and divorce, some years since he was studying the family. From his parish under the sunrise edges of the Green Mountains, from Boston, from many a platform in New England and the Middle and Western States, Mr. Dike has lifted up his voice in such a way as to command a national hearing on a theme second in importance to no other that secular reform has discussed since the abolition of slavery.

What is the extent of the evils of loose divorce?

1. Within thirty years, divorces, in most of the Northern States, have doubled in proportion to marriages and population.

In Connecticut in 1878 the annual average of divorces had become for fifteen years one to every 10.4 marriages. In Vermont this ratio in 1878 was 1 to 14; in Massachusetts 1 to 21.4. In Rhode Island in 1882 it was 1 to 11; in Maine in 1880, 1 to 10. New Hampshire has increased her divorces

nearly threefold within twenty-five years. In Chicago the ratio of divorces to marriages is about 1 to 13. In San Francisco it has been 1 to 6. The Rev. Mr. Caverno, in a brilliant paper lately read in Chicago, has shown that, in the county of which that city is a part, not far from one marriage in ten is dissolved by divorce or separation. \*

2. In connection with this increase of the number of divorces there has occurred an alarming relaxation of the stringency of divorce laws.

3. State laws on divorce differ, and it has now been decided that a marriage or divorce in one state is valid in any other, so that, practically, the legal condition of marriage everywhere in the United States is forced down to its lowest level anywhere.

4. Evasions, fraud, and hasty and slovenly legal procedure characterise divorce courts.

5. A vile branch of pettifoggery for the securing of divorces has acquired great vitality within a generation.

6. The ratio of illegitimate births to the whole population is rapidly increasing, and in several states keeps pace with the increase of divorces.

7. The size of native American families is decreasing. A Western state board of health estimates, that, in the United States, the number of women who die from the immediate effects of criminal abortion and similar vices is not less than 6,000 every year.

8. The Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour, Hon. C. D. Wright, says, "I am well satisfied that, so far as the volume of crime or of criminal conditions is concerned, licentiousness is the most potent factor in existence."

9. In Europe a movement in favour of lax divorce is perceptibly increasing in power, but has by no means the vigour as yet which it has acquired in the United States.

10. Numerous obscure and infamous infidel organisations favour loose divorce laws and advocate doctrines which undermine the permanence of the family and the sanctity of home.

11. The evils of loose and frequent divorce are found chiefly in the middle and lower classes of society, and very largely in the first and second generations of the immigrant population.†

12. The rapid growth of the evils of loose divorce began in the United States about 1845, when immigration and railways were becoming great forces in our civilisation.

So much on the side of the evil. Now what are some of the

\* *The Advance*, March 1st and 8th, 1884.

† See Rev. Samuel W. Dike's article in the *Princeton Review* for March on "Some Aspects of the Divorce Question."

causes of it? Here I enter upon a very vexed topic; for it is easy to mistake symptoms for causes, and not to go far enough back in our study of the origin of social looseness. What I do not mention under one head I hope you will find that I have emphasized under some other; and it is to the combination of causes that I ask your serious attention. Examine, one by one, and then in their united action, these twelve causes of the increase of the evil of loose divorce.

1. An influx of half-educated, or illiterate immigrant populations, who mistake American liberty for license.

2. The size of unchurched populations; that is, the number of those who attend no church regularly and whose children are neglected religiously and socially.

The masses of immigrant populations have been accustomed to state churches, and know nothing of American methods of voluntary church life. Those who break away from all church connections in coming to America, especially those who leave the Catholic Church, with its severe standards as to divorce, naturally fall into lawless social ways.

I do not know that any expert who has discussed this theme has emphasized this particular cause; but it seems to me to be a very important one. The Romish Church is making converts in this country, no doubt, and on the whole is not hopeless as to its future. But it is a fact that hundreds and thousands, who belonged in Europe to Catholic, Lutheran, or other state churches, drift away after emigrating to this country, and manage everything in their own lives for themselves; many of them become infidels; and it is in this body of lapsed, immigrant nominal church members that a large portion of the evil of loose divorce arises.

3. Infidelity, the poisonous doctrines of free love cliques and liberal leagues and various propagandists of immorality.

4. Railways, with the consequent mobility of populations and the resulting separation of family groups.

5. The growing concentration of population in cities, and the corruption consequent on the temptations peculiar to crowded populations.

6. The poisoning of the moral standards of many country districts by the modern facility of communication with cities.

7. Migratory habits of large operative populations.

New England is a factory as well as a college. It has been my fortune to be an acting pastor in a factory town in New England for a year; and I value the experience because it gave me some practical knowledge of operative populations. The bone and sinew of the land is largely found in the best of the

operative classes. But Secretary Dike tells us that, "in some New England manufacturing towns, the migratory working men, chiefly those of foreign birth, are found to desert their wives and children in one place to form a new alliance in another."\* Many working men learn to hate the Church because they believe that average congregations are under the control of cliques of rich people, who care nothing for the labourer, and will not give a man who is not well dressed a seat in God's house. Wholly without pastoral care exercised over them, these migratory populations are becoming, many portions of them (do not let me bring a railing accusation against them all) very alarmingly careless in several moral matters. The easy classes, in their parlours, hear little of these things. The newspapers have little to say about them. But the fact is that bad conditions in the organisation of labour lie at the bottom of very much of the social evil in New England.

8. Loose divorce laws.

9. Bad court procedure in divorce suits.

10. Conflicting divorce laws in the different States.

11. The modern spirit of Individualism fostered by Democracy.

12. A neglect on the part of churches and schools to teach the importance of the family as the social and political unit and the basis of all civilisation.

But I hasten to my last question: What remedies can be recommended for the cure of these evils?

1. A petition to Congress for the organisation of a Committee of Inquiry as to the statistics of marriages and divorces.

2. Inter-State agreement, with a view of promoting uniformity of divorce legislation.

3. Agitation for an amendment to the National Constitution to secure such uniformity.

We must be careful how we invade State rights. Of course Congress has no power now to pass a law securing uniformity on the topic of divorce; but it has a right to make inquiries; and the petition I propose is simply that Congress be asked to exercise that right as a basis for future legislation. What do we want to know? In the first place, the conditions as to the marriage of the emigrants before they leave foreign shores. Next, the proportion of divorces in the native born population and in the foreign born. In an exact investigation of facts, we shall probably find very much to scandalise us as to the habits of native born Americans; for unchurched, native-born

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\* *Princeton Review*. Jan. 1884, p. 172.



Americans in both the city slums and the rustic slums have among them some of the greatest rascals on earth. It was a New Englander who founded Mormonism. It was another New Englander who took charge of it after the founder of it passed away. It was a New Englander who founded the Oneida Community. Loose divorce has been called a "Connecticut Yankee notion." We must be ready to face such facts as that, in the Western Reserve in Ohio, settled from New England, the ratio of divorces to the number of marriages is much larger than in the southern counties of Ohio. The assertion is made, by the great experts on this theme, that unchurched native populations are exceedingly loose in many quarters of the country. I believe that the mischief will be traced first to the second generation of the immigrants and to the infidel portion of the lapsed populations that break away from the church connections with which they came into the country; and, next, to the unchurched native American populations.

Valuable as an inter-State agreement might be if *all* the States would adopt a stringent law, we of course want a national amendment; and it is not too much to hope that we can obtain it. But it is only by agitation, it is only by a combination of the efforts of parlour and press, and Church and platform, that we can secure the attention of Congress on this theme.

4. It is eminently strategic to organise Divorce Reform Leagues. In the West and on the Pacific slope, and in the South, the example of New England, in this particular, might be imitated with great advantage.

The list of the officers of the New England Divorce Reform League includes the names of some of our most honoured leaders of the Church in its various branches; and it is understood that the foremost scholars of the whole land stand behind this organisation. I wish you would stand behind it with abundant funds. Pour into its treasury money enough to enable these gentlemen to publish their facts far and wide, and to give the whole time of the secretary to the business of agitation on the platform.

5. The Church, the press, the parlour, and the platform ought to unite in support of divorce reform, and for the suppression of the propagandism of vice.

There are only three or four cities in the United States that have a vigorous society for putting down obscene literature. A man whom I am proud to call my friend, a hero of social and moral reform—Mr. Anthony Comstock, of New York City,

whom may God bless!—can tell you as much concerning the origin of loose divorces in the very lowest ranks of society as any one on the continent. Why should you not assist men to do such work as his in every municipality of the land? The doctrines of devils are taught behind closed doors by free love leagues in nearly every great city of the land, and you know little or nothing of the fact. You sit still and leave all this to the police. There might be cast a keen glance by the law and order leagues upon the topic of the execution of laws for protecting families. And certainly I have a right to make this suggestion, when the chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labour assures us that social vice is a greater cause of crime than intemperance itself, against which, thus far, the efforts of the law and order leagues have been directed.

6. All other means of divorce reform will fail without a saturation of society, literature, education and law, with the natural and biblical ideals concerning the family.

There are plenty of Roman Catholic tracts on the topic of divorce. There are very few Protestant tracts on that subject. Roman Catholicism permits no divorce, but only separation. In this audience, made up largely of Protestants, it is significant that you applaud the general career of Romanism on this topic. Are you as Protestants to sit still and have the finger of shame pointed at you from the Seven Hills of Rome? Are you to be told not only that your exegesis is false in permitting divorce for adultery, but that, at the very basis of Protestantism lies an individualism which will, in the end, wreck the home, and so the Church and the State? This is what Rome is saying everywhere. Unless you justify your exegesis, as I think you can do very well on one point, that of the Scriptural cause for divorce, and unless you execute the laws now on the statute books and improve them vastly, Romanism will have an immense advantage in its rivalry with Protestantism, and will often bring us into contempt in the holy of holies of society. I would not present divorce reform as a Protestant question only. Heaven forbid that I should do so! But to lash Protestants a little on the topic of loose divorce laws is lawful in these days, when Romanism, in her confessionals, in her tracts, in her pulpits, and on her platforms is insisting on the severest doctrine concerning divorce and marriage, and you on your platforms, and in your pulpits are doing very little, in your tracts almost nothing, and on your statute books are enacting the doctrines of devils. Heaven deliver us from such looseness on this theme as shall undermine the confidence of the community in the perpetuity of

Protestant institutions. On Protestantism stands Republican government, as I believe. On Protestantism and on the family as protected by Christian ideas, stand your hopes for freedom as citizens of a republic, and for the progress of the nation in ages to come.

Without admitting that American society is corrupt at the top, or very corrupt in the middle, let us so employ agitation as to heat the whole collection of waters in our civilisation until the dregs which are at the bottom shall rise to the surface. Let us ascertain how much corruption there is in the worst places in society, wherever they are found; and when once the foul mass is visible at the top we shall skim it off and cast it into the chaos where it belongs.

Now, I have the honour to move: "That this audience petition Congress to provide for a commission to ascertain the statistics of divorce and marriage from the records and authorities of the several States, as a basis for future legislation." All who are in favour will please rise. (Nearly the entire audience rose.) There are many who are standing near the crowded doors; so, if all who are opposed to this petition will now raise their hands, the vote of no one will be misunderstood. (Mr. Cook paused.) I see no opposition. If any one is opposed, let him say No. No one dissents; and, therefore, I declare this petition passed unanimously, and shall venture to forward it to Senator Hoar, with the request that it be presented, in the name of this assembly, to the Judiciary Committee. A million readers of what is said and voted here like to have this audience regarded as a kind of old guard, as the abolitionist body once was, on every topic of unpopular reform.

## QUESTIONS.

1. From Atlanta, Georgia, comes this question:

*"In the Southern States shall we give up all work for the whites unless they will consent to enter the schools and churches established in common for whites and blacks?"*

Erase the colour line from all schools supported by public money. Let private schools take their chances under the law of the survival of the fittest.

2. *"Ought the Church to endeavour to restore the ministry of healing by prayer?"*

This question has an exegetical, an historical, and a scientific aspect.

Those who believe in the possibility of healing certain

diseases by prayer appear to me to be right in maintaining exegetically that the immediate disciples of our Lord were commissioned and empowered by Him to exercise by prayer a ministry of healing. The question in dispute is whether this was a permanent commission or one intended only for the opening ages of Christianity. My conviction is that the New Testament Scriptures do not authorise us to expect now such miracles as occurred in the apostolic age. Nevertheless, I am convinced that prayer for the sick, with the use of the best known remedies of a physical kind, is always a Christian duty, and that very special blessings are promised in the New Testament as the results of such petition offered in faith.

Historically these promises seem to have occasional fulfilment in the very highest spiritual moods of certain circles of devout believers. As I do not admit exegetically that the power of working actual miracles was promised to believers in all ages, so I am not as yet convinced historically that any actual miracles of healing have been wrought.

Nevertheless, scientifically regarded, the question whether disease can be cured by prayer is one to be answered like any other in science by the methods of exact research. Investigation of this subject is extremely important on account of the large numbers who are deluded, if miraculous healing is *not* a modern fact, but especially on account of the re-inforcement that would accrue to Christian faith if it is a fact. Inquiry on such a theme should not be closed by the assumption that the age of miracles is past. Observation, induction, the scientific method must settle this case. It is greatly to be desired that those who believe in healing by prayer should accumulate lists of cases of the cure of *organic* diseases by faith. It is by no means denied that many *functional* diseases, especially those resulting from the multitudinous forms of nervous disorder, have been healed by the ministry of prayer. Sceptics affirm that these cases of cure may be accounted for by wholly natural causes. What is necessary for their conviction is a series of legally verifiable detailed cases of the cure of (1) organic disease; (2) pronounced such by competent physicians; (3) given up by them as hopeless; (4) but cured by prayer; and (5) the cure attested by its permanence. In a large amount of reading on this theme I have found but one apparent example of such healing, and that is the alleged recovery of the wife of Dr. Asa Mahan from cancer which had been pronounced incurable by experts in the treatment of that disease.\* For evident reasons it is difficult to multiply public records in

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\* See *Presbyterian Review* for January, 1884, p. 616.

such matters of sacred private experience ; but when physicians are themselves cured, as it is alleged they sometimes have been, of organic disease by prayer, they ought to be able to make such a record of their experience as to convince sceptical physicians. Pastor Blumhardt, in whose parish, no doubt, wonderful cures of nervous diseases took place in answer to prayer, was asked by a professor of the medical faculty of the University of Tübingen to give him scientific proof that such healing had occurred. Blumhardt opened a drawer and left the professor alone for hours to examine the letters that cured persons had written, as to their own experience and with the corroborating recorded testimony of physicians. This evidence was treated with respect by the professor. Henry Drummond, author of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," visited Blumhardt's Institution, and was convinced that functional diseases were cured there by prayer. Professor Christlieb is of the same opinion. Not a few careful investigators of Dr. Cullis's remarkable work in Boston, adopt, whether rightly or wrongly, the same view as to merely functional disorders. But the real question concerns organic diseases, and only the strictly scientific method of research can settle it. The honoured chairman of the Boston Monday Lectureship is absent from this platform to-day, conducting evangelistic services with the students of Princeton College, by the invitation of President McCosh. I venture to say, in his absence, that the most balanced and cautious book I have seen on this theme is the well-known volume of Rev. Dr. Gordon, on "The Ministry of Healing"; the next best the life of Pastor Blumhardt, a most suggestive work, which Professor Christlieb once urged upon my attention. As to healing by prayer, I never oppose such discriminating views as are held by Dr. Gordon and Professor Christlieb ; but I never defend them.

3. "*What doctrines must one hold in order to be evangelical in the American sense of that word ?*"

Do not ask Andover. It is well known that Unitarians and Universalists, however much we may respect them, are not classed among evangelical believers. But the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, most Congregationalists, all of them who are true to their own historic faith, the Episcopalians, are evangelical. What, then, are the evangelical doctrines? Those in which these bodies agree. What are the points of agreement? I love to emphasize the hidden half of Christian unity. It consists in the substantial oneness of evangelical Protestantism in maintaining the necessity of the New Birth, the necessity of the Atonement, the Deity of our Lord and

Saviour, the perfect trustworthiness of the Scriptures as a rule of religious faith and practice, the resurrection of the just and the unjust, the immortality of the soul, the final judgment, the issues of which are determined by the deeds done in the body.

Canon Farrar holds that the issues of the final judgment are thus determined ; and he could not go further without violating the standards of the Church of England. If it is claimed that Congregationalists may go further, and yet be evangelical, that claim can justify itself as little at the bar of the standard inculcation of evangelical hymns, prayers and preaching, as at the bar of Scripture itself.

4. "*What is the meaning of Nirvana ?*"

After much study of this question in the East I am convinced that the meaning of Nirvana has been different at various dates and places. Theoretically it means the extinction of the soul as a personal existence, the annihilation of individual consciousness, the putting out of the torch of man's being. In advanced Japanese Buddhism, however, it implies only the extinction of all evil desire and the complete harmony of the soul with the Deity after the death of the body. Babu Mozoomdar agrees with Edwin Arnold in the statement that the latter meaning is the one common now in India.

5. "*What of the work of the American Christian School of Philosophy ?*"

It is parallel to that of the well-known Victoria Institute of Christian Philosophy in Great Britain. It has already achieved most important results in founding a periodical, opening courses of lectures and gathering a great company of scholars for the discussion of the Christian Evidences and the relations of Religion to Science. It has published many brilliant and powerful pages, and has before it, as may be confidently expected, a great future of usefulness. Dr. Deems, the originator and manager of the American Society, has earned the gratitude of all Christian circles by his admirable service in this high department of religious and philosophical discussion.

6. "*What of Sunday Newspapers ?*"

Sunday journals, unreformed, may ultimately make the Satanic press the chief Sabbath instructor of the nation. Our liberties are not safe under a permanence of such tutelage. There are a few reputable Sunday sheets, I admit the fact ; but they do not give character to the mass of them. Usually the Sunday newspaper has more matter in it than any issue on a week day, and more objectionable matter. The loafer's journal is peculiarly loaferish, and the Satanic press peculiarly Satanic on Sundays. Let reputable people refuse to receive into their

houses Sunday journals, and cause it to be known that advertisements in these papers do not reach the better class of homes, and a financial chill may be thrown into the lawless mercenary heart of an irresponsible Sunday press. Why should one trade be allowed to manufacture and distribute its wares Sunday, and other trades kept from work on that day? Sunday's newspaper is printed on Saturday night, it is triumphantly said. But when is Monday's prepared? When are Sunday papers sent out to the four winds? Under my window at Saratoga, last summer, the New York Sunday dailies were hawked about, before 10 o'clock on Sunday morning. But, in order to make this exploit possible, special locomotives were driven screaming up the Hudson, and pony expresses tortured, and dealers and newsboys stirred to a frenzy of activity. This process, carried out to the thirty-two points of the compass from every great city, in a population of fifty millions, is a very considerable infraction of citizens' rights. Editors and printers, as well as railway men, deserve one day in seven for rest. I asked a Chicago reporter on a great daily, which publishes a Sunday edition, heavy with rubbish, whether he had one day of rest in seven. His answer was: "Not one in seventy-seven." Sunday is worth more than Sunday journalism. What Sunday journals displace is worth more than what they supply. They displace rest. *They displace the mood of religious thoughtfulness and worship, without which no civilization can be maintained at a high level.* On the whole Sunday journals, in average times of peace, must be pronounced to be works neither of necessity nor of mercy. They should be reformed or abolished. The most influential dailies of the world do not issue Sunday editions. Civilization would stand higher than it now does with us if all Sunday journals were discontinued, as both industrial and moral nuisances.

7. "*Would not constitutional prohibition so fail of execution in great and corrupt cities as to be inferior in practical effect to high license?*"

Constitutional prohibition, once enacted, represents the will of the whole people. It is a measure unencumbered with any partisan issue. High license is usually complicated with partisan contests. Constitutional prohibition, having secured the great majority of votes in a state, would have high moral authority even in corrupt cities. My positions, therefore, are:

(1.) Constitutional prohibition would be partially executed in cities.

(2.) It would be increasingly executed.

(3.) It might be executed quite thoroughly by the aid of law and order leagues.

(4) If the municipal state police assist the local police, it might be made as effective as statutory prohibition ever was.

(5.) Being the measure of the whole people and not subject to sudden change, constitutional prohibition would discourage new investments of property in the liquor trade and weaken the distillery interest much more than high license could do ; for the latter would be a merely party measure and subject to change at the next alteration of party majorities. Under constitutional prohibition, a legislature could vote only one way. Combinations of the whisky rings to corrupt a legislature would, therefore, be discouraged.

(6.) Let municipal reform succeed, and the rules of civil-service reform be applied to cities, and even in corrupt great towns the will of the people may yet be carried out.

(7.) Constitutional prohibition, like statutory, would drive liquor selling into obscure and disreputable quarters in cities. On the contrary, high license gilds the saloon. It converts the gin-hole into the gin-palace. It greatly adds to the respectability of the liquor trade. It thus builds up the power that threatens the home and good government.

(8.) All license miseducates the people by making the state partner in unrighteous gains. All license of the liquor traffic means state permission to a man, for a consideration, to poison his neighbours, and manufacture drunkards, paupers, criminals, taxes, ruined homes and lost souls !



## THE LECTURE.

### *SPIRITUAL RELIGION IN LOTZE'S PHILOSOPHY.*

Plato was not satisfied, as Aristotle was, simply with the fact that there exists an original cause of motion in the universe. He looked for the origin not merely of motion, but also of the True and the Beautiful and the Good. Among modern philosophers no one so much resembles Plato in comprehensiveness of outlook upon the moral and æsthetic branches of philosophy as does Hermann Lotze. The scheme of thought of this great German, however, is much more than any form of Neo-Platonism. It is much more than Platonism itself. Mr. Emerson was substantially a Neo-Platonist. He said once that the whole universe to him was a spiritual manifestation. So it was to Lotze. But Mr. Emerson had a doctrine that became fanciful at last; a conviction that, by mere insight, the truth on all moral questions can be known; that the soul has such vision of all practical reality that it only needs self-reliance in following its own impulses to arrive at all necessary philosophical and religious knowledge. What is the remedy for scepticism? was Mr. Emerson's famous question. His answer was: First the soul, and next the soul, and evermore the soul. As this truth stands in Emerson's scheme of thought, it eventuates in mysticism. It is a half truth, as Lotze would see it; and yet Lotze, in beginning his philosophy, takes the soul and the whole soul as his starting-point; but he does not do this in a mystical way. He does it in a spirit as thoroughly scien-

tific as that of Aristotle, and yet as religious and poetic as that of Plato.

It is now very generally conceded that the errors of Immanuel Kant in philosophy arose from his taking too narrow a view of the human faculties. He did not study the intellect too much ; but the conscience and moral emotions and will too little. The basis of his critique of reason is an analysis of the intellectual faculties, of self-evident truth, of our intuitions strictly so called ; and the service of the Kantian philosophy to clear ideas has probably never been over estimated. But its service to sound emotions and right conduct has been, like that of the Stoic philosophy, very great indeed, but not its chief work. It is the glory of Hermann Lotze to have broadened, by exact and not mystical methods, the philosophical outlook upon human nature, to have taken the emotions in all their ranges into view ; as well as the intellectual faculties ; and thus, gradually, through the strictest methods of modern research, to have risen to a philosophy of the soul and of the whole composite nature of man, in harmony with the truths of all the sciences—mental, moral, æsthetic and physical. Hermann Lotze was educated first as a physician, and next as a meta-physician. The combination of these two styles of culture made him the many-sided philosopher that he was.

Lotze was born May 21st, 1817, at Bautzen, in Saxony. He came from the country which gave to Germany Lessing and Fichte. He was educated at Zittan, under the very best guidance, and began to exhibit there enthusiasm not merely for philosophical, but for scientific studies. He was taught to reverence the classics. He worshipped the college fetich, thank Heaven ! All his life he respected art in literature ; and his words have penetrated far wider circles than they could have reached if he had written in the clumsy style of many German philosophers. Lotze was an artist in words, a thing which cannot be said of one in twenty of the German thinkers. At the age of

seventeen he became a student at Leipzig University. The son of a physician, he took medicine for his speciality. At the age of twenty-two he became a lecturer at Leipzig. Biology, then one of the youngest of the physical sciences, was the first topic in which he became profoundly interested. He pursued medicine and philosophy with such success that, five years after his entrance of Leipzig University he was able to qualify into teacher in both faculties. In 1848 he was called to Göttingen, and spent most of his life in that beautiful town, as professor of philosophy. Before going there, however, he had published his metaphysics in 1844, and his logic in 1845. His grandest work, as everyone ought to know, is the "*Mikrokosmos*," published between 1856 and 1864. The third edition of it appeared between 1876 and 1880.

Lotze lived in a quiet, picturesque house, among orchards, outside the walls of Göttingen; and I have visited the spot repeatedly, and have corresponded with him. But as he was in Italy when I was in Göttingen I never had the pleasure of meeting him personally. On my second visit to Germany, in 1881, he had just been called to Berlin as professor; and one day, on the banks of the Rhine, the news was brought to me by Professor Christlieb that Lotze was dead. I had expected to hear him lecture at Berlin. The sad and pathetic hour that I passed at his grave in Göttingen was the nearest approach I made to meeting this master of modern thought. I saw his tomb when the palm leaves were wreathed over it in the form of a cross and were fresh with the verdure of their original growth. I have a drawing of that grave. It hangs on my study wall to-day; and on it, in German, are these words from Lotze, the very centre of his philosophy: "Only love for the living God, and longing to be approved by Him is the scientific, as it is the Christian basis of morality; and science will never find a firmer basis nor life a surer."

I purpose to sit with you under the trees that whisper above Lotze's tomb, and, in the few minutes you give me, endeavour to summarize his philosophy. Omitting all the valleys and minor peaks, let me put your feet down only upon the gigantic summits of his scheme of thought.

1. Everywhere in the wide field of observation we find three things: A region of facts, a region of laws, a region of worths.

2. These regions are separated only in our thoughts, not in reality.

3. Facts are the field in which, and laws the method by which the standards of worth, æsthetic and moral, are being realised.

4. This union implies design and can only become intelligible by the idea of a Personal Deity.

5. In the creation and preservation of the world a personal God has voluntarily chosen certain methods of action indicated by the world of facts and the world of laws.\*

6. Through these methods a personal God is realising the standards indicated by the world of worths.

7. Only love for the living God and longing to be approved by him is the scientific, as it is the Christian basis of morality and spiritual growth and bliss.

Erdmann *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* Vol. II., § 347, 11-13; and Ueberweg, "History of Philosophy," vol. II., p. 312, have summarised Lotze; but the former makes too little of the artistic, and the latter too little of the ethical side of his teaching.†

The recent, but already celebrated volume on "Meta-

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\* See *Encyc. Brit.*, Art. Lotze, p. 18.

† The summary of Professor Merz is very closely followed above, but with essential additions from the "*Mikrokosmos*." The best articles that the writer has seen in German on Lotze, are the three by Hugo Sommer, in the *Preussische Jahrbucher*, for September, October and November, 1875. See also a valuable article by Professor Lindsay, in "*Mind*," vol. I., pp. 368-382.

physics," by Professor Bowne, of Boston University, is the best representative in English, of Lotze's philosophy. A translation of the "*Mikrokosmos*" was begun by the daughter of Sir Wm. Hamilton, who left it unfinished at her death. It is hoped that it may soon be completed by another hand. A complete edition of Lotze's work is under discussion at the University of Oxford.

After much effort, I find that I cannot put into seven compact propositions more of Lotze than this series of his highest conclusion contains. But remember that here is the top and radiance of the acutest scheme of philosophy that the world has yet reached. The wealth of Plato and Aristotle, of Kant and Leibnitz are summed up in Lotze. The spoils of Fichte, Schelling and Hegel are his. Stand at his grave, and ask what you are to think of agnosticism. Some foppish young philosopher comes to you with a statement of the law of relativity, and asserts that you cannot know anything except as it affects your faculties, and that all objective reality may be an illusion. In the presence of this tomb you are not troubled by superficiality like this. No; Lotze knew all about the law of relativity, and looked through it to the existence, perhaps not of what we ordinarily call the material universe, but certainly of objective and personal being. It must be admitted that Lotze did regard matter as visible force. He was not an idealist, but an ideal realist. To Lotze the sub-stratum of mind and matter both is God.

Through the English and Scottish philosophy, I have led you up, little by little, under difficult circumstances, to the Unseen Universe. In it we have found the origin of matter, motion, and life. We have been emphasizing the positions of the British theistic school that all matter must have originated from the Unseen Universe, and that all life must have originated from it. Lotze traces back to the Unseen Universe not matter, motion, and life merely, but also the beautiful and the good. Ethical ends

he finds demonstrably supreme. To Lotze, therefore, the universe is as surely filled with the Omnipresent God as to the English theist it is with the omnipresent ether. The connection of world with world, the unification of laws throughout space and time he accounts for by the constantly exercised will of the King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible. Lotze had speculations which, perhaps, all of us cannot indorse, and which led him to assert that the only things in existence are God and finite spirits. He almost denied that matter exists in the ordinary sense of the word. Possibly we could not approve his ideal realism stated roughly; but with all his qualifications of the doctrine we should find little in it to quarrel with. I myself do not adopt this theory that matter is nothing but the spiritual action upon us of personal beings outside us. It is not necessary for me to do this in order to accept the majestic outlines of his philosophy. But here over his grave I do not stand up to criticise him; I stand to emphasize the decision with which he discarded materialism, agnosticism, fiendish pessimism, and all the forms of modern sceptical philosophical thought.

Lotze's peculiar use of the word mechanism has misled certain careless critics into the absurd claim that he was a friend of materialism. He comprised, under the term *mechanism*, all the laws which obtain in the phenomenal world, not excepting those of life and mind itself. One object of his writings was to show that mechanism in this sense is omnipresent in Nature, but is everywhere the horse, and never the rider. "The Mechanical view of Nature," as Professor Merz observes, "is not identical with the materialistic." Some years ago, in choosing the motto for a work on Biology, made up of lectures given on this platform, and in which I had commended Lotze's philosophy to the American public, I ventured to cite these words of his as a keynote of his system. "How, without exception, universal is the extent, but at the same time, how

perfectly subordinate is the mission which mechanism has to accomplish in the structure of the world." As long ago as 1845 and 1850, a few German writers of the materialistic school endeavoured to claim Lotze as on their side; even the younger Fichte made this mistake; but no one makes it now unless it be the *New York Nation*! Lotze was a determined opponent of materialism in philosophy.

Lotze taught that, from the idea of matter, life and soul cannot be explained; but that, from the idea of spirit, all material properties may be deduced. He makes spirit the ultimate substance of all things. The supersensible reality underlying both matter and finite mind is God. Consciousness is not, as the materialists pretend, a passive concomitant of material changes in the nerves. "That condition of the natural course of things in which the germ of a physiological organism is developed, is," says Lotze, "a condition which determines the substantial reason of the world to the production of a certain soul, in the same way that an organic impression determines our soul to the production of a certain sensation." Thus, the birth of a soul is not the result of the natural course of things, nor yet is it a creation out of nothing. The substance of which it was made existed in the exhaustless substance of the absolute. The domain of matter and finite mind is not distinct from the domain of the absolute and spiritual world, whence the soul comes, but is penetrated everywhere by it.\*

As, in all the changes of our thoughts, choices, and emotions, there is a personality in man binding all these into unity, so in all the objects and events of the finite universe there is a Personal God binding creation into unity. In him, therefore, most demonstrably we live and move and have our being.

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\* See *Unitarian Review* for February and March, 1877.

You think that Herbert Spencer leads the philosophical thought of the world ; but Herbert Spencer brought to the grave of Hermann Lotze, seems a pigmy. Lotze was clear ; Spencer is obscure. Lotze was a theist ; Spencer is an agnostic. Lotze controlled philosophical thinking in university centres ; Spencer has hardly any influence in university centres. Lotze had the devoted support of Christianity ; Herbert Spencer has its devout opposition. Lotze is to-day revered by the physicists of Germany and England as one who was familiarly acquainted with modern physical research. I have heard Lionel Beale say of Herbert Spencer's books that there is so much false science in them that they will not be bought except as literary curiosities ten years after his death. Lotze has the intellectual respect of the foremost philosophical circles of Germany ; but the foremost circles of England and Scotland make sport of Herbert Spencer. It is not too much to say, that, bright man as he is in many particulars, Herbert Spencer is a misleader of philosophical opinion. Lotze is the worthy successor of Aristotle, of Plato, of Leibnitz and Kant.

Over Lotze's tomb, under the walls of Göttingen, I ask you to make a choice between a broad philosophy and a narrow one ; between an acute, comprehensive, and incisive scheme of thought, and a superficial and mystical one. I ask you to make your choice between accredited theism and discredited agnosticism, between spiritual faith and materialistic doubt. I ask you to rise to the height of Lotze's supreme position that only love for a living God, omnipresent, eternal, immutable, is the basis of morality, and that science can never find a firmer basis than this, nor life a surer.\* Progress in natural theology will count Lotze's monument a milestone on that royal Appian Way which has at its side the monuments of Plato, Aristotle, Leibnitz and Kant, marking the advance of

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\* "*Mikrokosmos*," Vol. III., p. 358.



philosophy and religion along the path of the ages. The comprehensiveness, the acuteness, the moral beauty, the scientific courage of Lotze's scheme of thought, ought to attract us, even if it did not harmonize with Christianity, as it does. It is appropriate that the cross should stand at the head of this grave, and that the palm leaves over it should be kept green. Lotze's philosophy of the soul of man and of its relations to a personal God leads up to the supreme watch-word of a better age to come; a watch-word in which I for one, at the edge of the tomb, summarise my personal faith; a watch-word as true in philosophy as in religion—*Via Lucis, Via Crucis*—the Way of Light is the Way of the Cross.



## THE PRELUDE.

### THE NEW CONGREGATIONAL CREED.

WHEN roof joins roof and your neighbour's house is on fire, your own is in danger. The watchword of religious denominations ought to be "all the allies of each." I make, therefore, no apology for discussing the New Congregational Creed before an audience containing representatives of all the evangelical denominations; for a fire anywhere in the city of evangelical faith is a general peril. The Congregational house in New England has had one fire in it already—the Unitarian defection. Only half of the building was left standing after the conflagration. The other half of it after corruscating brilliantly for little more than a quarter of a century has slowly become a mass of charred timbers. It is true that, in the secret places of the unevangelical structure, some wood remains sound; but the most of it, as judged by Christendom at large, is really a ghastly, blackened ruin. The lawns, the parks, the solemn groves which the Puritans had set in order around this portion of the house have now the aspect and odour of spiritual desolation. God knows when these fields shall again become green! While the ashes of this first conflagration yet float in the winds, we are threatened with another fire in the New England Congregational house, and originating on the same side as the first, or, perhaps, from embers underneath the foundation, not yet extinguished. It is a most serious and critical hour. To watch for lawless flames that threaten to fasten on the carved work of the sanctuary, and extinguish them, is a business which it is vain for a foppish liberalism to stigmatise as heresy hunting. It is the holy duty of a religious fire patrol in a sleeping city.

One of the felicities of our time is the swiftness of international communication. This is, also, a great infelicity; for, as poisoning is rapid from nation to nation, we suffer from importations of foreign heresies. But the reaction against

foreign heresies ought to reach us as quickly as the heresies themselves. It is a very significant sign of the times that, in Great Britain, there seems to have commenced a reaction against the tendency of certain eccentrics in the Church to teach the doctrine or hypothesis of probation after death. Every one knows that Scotland means Presbyterianism; and in the Presbyterian world there has been no alarming tendency to accept this heresy. In the world of the English establishment several brilliant men came very near adopting it. Canon Farrar did not do so, however. He was educated a very rigid, strict Calvinist, and, in his reaction from his early training, uttered himself somewhat too emphatically against doctrines, perhaps held in a popular way in many orthodox circles, but not really taught by the scholars who lead orthodox thought. He has never gone so far as to assert that there is probation after death. I hold in my hands the latest published series of the celebrated Bampton Lecturers, delivered before the University of Oxford. You remember how distinguished the names of the Bampton lecturers have been, and how well they have represented the highest scholarship and soundest piety of the English Church. Having been published so very lately, it is significant that this book takes the most vigorous ground against the hypothesis of probation after death. I venture to hope that it is an indication of the ultimate attitude of the Establishment in England.

"There is, indeed, after the term of this earthly life is reached, no further probation; no opportunity of repentance in the proper sense of the word; that is, of inner change of mind from the love of evil and the life of sin to the love of good and of God, and the life of earnest endeavour after holiness. The whole tenor of Holy Scripture is against so unfounded and dangerous a supposition, and implies that, however it may be only as yet in germ, and that undiscernible by any but the All-Searching Eye, the final direction and determination of the moral choice is really taken for good and evil within the allotted limits of the present life. Natural moral science, based on observation and experience, apart from revelation, points unhesitatingly to a like conclusion; and even heathen philosophy recognizes the solemn significance of life in its opportunity for the exercise of moral choice and for the growth of habitual moral attitude and tendency into finally settled determination of character."\*

Here is precisely the doctrine of final permanence, ultimate

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\*"The One Mediator," "The Bampton Lectures for 1882," pp. 314-318.

steadfastness or unchanging bent of moral character, good or bad, that it has been my solemn duty to emphasize so often on this platform. Luthardt thunders this doctrine forth from Leipzig, the foremost university of all Europe. It is a truth which has not been of late sufficiently taught, even from evangelical pulpits on this side of the Atlantic. Let those who hold this biblical conviction utter it boldly; for many who should teach it are recreant to their duty. This I hold to be the sound position to which evangelical thought is gradually drifting after the disturbance of an unexpected attack of heresy in this quarter. Probation after death is, to our times a new theme comparatively; but the oscillation of the pendulum of faith brings it back to the biblical centre.

In 1880 there was appointed by the National Council of Congregational Churches, a committee of most reputable gentlemen to choose a commission of twenty-five to draw up a creed or catechism, or both, embracing the current belief of Congregationalists. After many months of consultation, a report has been made, and the Creed has been published to the four winds. The report was not to be made to the National Council; it is not to be adopted by that body. The Congregational usage is to give the local church autonomy in the choice of its creed. The Congregationalists are exceedingly shy of being held together by hoops; each portion of the edge of the cask takes care of itself. Even when the Congregational cask happens to be not water-tight, and is yet expected to hold water, it resists coöperation. A very useful characteristic in certain directions; a very dangerous one in others!

I. *What are the important omissions in the New Congregational Creed?*

I recognise the merit of the Creed in a large number of particulars. It pronounces vigorously against Universalism in its ordinary form, but not against semi-Universalism in the form of the hypothesis of probation after death. It pronounces vigorously against Unitarianism, but not against semi-Unitarianism in the form of a failure to assert the deity of the Holy Spirit. It pronounces vigorously for the doctrine of inspiration, stated in liberalistic phrases. It pronounces vigorously for the doctrine of the Atonement, under the same condition.

In a matter so important and critical I shall not satisfy you unless I enter into something like detail; and, therefore, I beg permission to point out concisely not all, but the more important omissions in the New Creed.

1. The majority of the commission affirm that the issues of the final judgment are everlasting punishment and everlasting life.

They do not affirm, and of course do not intend to affirm, that the issues of the final judgment are determined by the deeds done in the body.

It must be remembered that this commission was made up of conservative and of latitudinarian n. n. You may be sure that the conservative members suggested that the Creed should utter itself on this point. But I do not depend, and do not ask you to depend on mere inference however obvious and necessary. From one of the members of the commission who has no question that every member of it will readily assent to the statement, which no one can have any wish to conceal, I have authority to say that the addition of the words in relation to the issues of the final judgment, "determined by the things done in the body," was suggested, candidly considered, and, as was the case with all the other suggestions, which after consideration were omitted, for reasons satisfactory to a majority of the commission, respectfully declined. This is what I mean when I say that they were voted down. After careful consideration they were intentionally, for reasons satisfactory to those who thus voted, omitted from the statement of doctrine. The fact that these words were voted down is one which the churches should not forget in a day and an hour.

2. The majority of the commission affirm that they believe in the resurrection of the dead. They do not affirm, and of course, do not intend to affirm, that they believe in the resurrection of the dead "both of the just and the unjust." These additional words, as I am informed by the authority just cited, were suggested and deliberately omitted.

3. They affirm that the Scriptures constitute the authoritative standard by which religious teaching and human conduct are to be regulated and judged.

They do not affirm or imply that the Scriptures constitute the "only" such standard.

They do not use the word "inspired" in describing the Scriptures.

They refuse to declare the Scriptures "infallible" as a guide in religious faith and practice.

As I have been informed, on the authority already mentioned, all these words were suggested and declined. That part of the Scriptures which is declared to be able to make wise unto salvation is the record of God's work of redemption; and only this portion is described as authoritative.

4. The committee affirm that Christ made a sacrifice of Himself for the sins of the world. They refuse to affirm that this was an "expiatory" sacrifice.

On the same authority I have mentioned already, I have been assured that this word was suggested and voted down.

5. They affirm that those who, through renewing grace turn to righteousness, are made the children of God. They decline to affirm that those who are thus regenerated were "chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world."

6. They affirm that the Holy Spirit, together with the Father and Son is worshipped and glorified.

They do not affirm that the Holy Spirit is of one substance and equal in power and glory with the Father and the Son.

The forms of the Nicene Creed are so mangled in the opening passages of the New Creed that they are strangely inadequate to their high purposes.

7. They speak of the One God as if that term were appropriate to the Father only.

They do not affirm that they believe in one God, infinite in all perfections, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

8. They assert that all men are so alienated from God that they can be saved only by redeeming grace.

They do not affirm that there must be not merely redeeming but regenerating and sanctifying grace. They minimize the divine justice and the fact of man's sinfulness. They really teach only that man is so imperfect that he cannot be saved except by redeeming grace. Perhaps under the word "redeeming" the idea of regeneration is to be included; but the authoritative statement which has come to me is that the word "regenerating" was voted down.

## II. *What are the objections to the Creed with these omissions?*

1. There is nothing in the Creed to counteract the force of its omissions. It contains no reaffirmations of previous historic creeds. It stands alone, and thus it implies that the doctrines it does not mention are unimportant. It lifts only the doctrines it mentions to the rank of essentials. The omitted points it represents as unessentials.

2. It is no excuse for the omissions in this Creed to say that many of them are parallel to omissions in the Congregational Declarations of Faith of 1871 and 1865. The Oberlin Declaration of the former year explicitly reaffirms the "belief that the Holy Scriptures are the sufficient and only infallible rule of religious faith and practice," and that the Congregationalist interpretation thereof is "in substantial accordance with the great doctrines of the Christian faith commonly called evangelical, held in our churches from the early times, and sufficiently set forth by former general councils."\*

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\* Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," Vol. III, p. 787.

The celebrated Burial Hill Declaration of Faith adopted by the National Council of Congregationalists in 1865 explicitly reaffirms belief in the faith and order of the Apostolic and Primitive Churches "and substantially as embodied in the confessions and platforms which our Synods of 1648 and 1680 set forth or reaffirmed."\*

It has been very disingenuously or very carelessly said† that the article in the New Creed respecting the judgment and future punishment, "is copied almost word for word from that adopted by the Congregationalists of Plymouth Rock in 1865." It is true that the Burial Hill Declaration affirms belief in the final judgment, "the issues of which are eternal life and everlasting punishment." It does not affirm that the issues of the final judgment are determined by the deeds done in the body. *But it reaffirms great historic documents which do affirm this.* It reaffirms the famous Savoy declaration of Faith; and this, on the subject of probation after death, was identical with the Westminster Confession. That confession teaches that there is no probation after death.‡

John Milton called the Westminster Assembly a select, learned and memorable synod, in which piety and prudence were housed. It had been the hope of many that this Creed would do as much honour to the present age as the Westminster Confession did to the age in which it was drawn up. The New Creed looks like a shriveled piece of fruit under a large helmet, a very small head, quite incapable of filling the covering intended for it. The Westminster Confession of Faith is not according to my views in all particulars; but it is a sublime document. In order to show you that it does not teach probation after death, I read these words: "The bodies of men, after death, return to dust and see corruption; but their souls, which neither die nor sleep, having an immortal subsistence, immediately return to God, who gave them, the souls of the righteous being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heaven, where they behold the face of God in light and glory waiting for the full redemption of their bodies, and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torment and outer darkness, reserved for the judgment of the great day. Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies the Scripture acknowledgeth none." The Solemn League and Covenant published in this volume, which I happened to buy in Edinburgh, I read not far from John Knox's grave, at the

\* Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," Vol. III., p. 734.

† *Christian Union*, March 13, 1884.

‡ See "Westminster Confession," Chapter xxxii.



midnight service in St. Gile's Cathedral, on the last day of the year 1880. The very touch of that book is electric. That scene, when three kingdoms adopted the League and Covenant for the guidance of their affairs; when Cromwell and Milton and the great Presbyters of Scotland were ready to lock hands in the reformation of the foremost country of the present time, then just rising to its greatness, appears to me to be altogether too dignified and glorious an historic picture to be sneered at by any shriveled successors of the Puritans and the Pilgrims.

The Burial Hill Declaration of Faith teaches also "that the death of Christ was expiatory."

The conservative members of the commission consented to the omission in the New Creed of the statement that the issues of the final judgment are determined by the deeds done in the body. They signed a creed which allows belief in second probation. It is understood that they did so to secure harmony with those who represented in the commission the new latitudinarianism. The conservative members are supposed to have justified this singular lack of caution by pointing to the fact that there is a similar omission in the Burial Hill Declaration of Faith. The omission in that document was an omission with reaffirmations which explained it and made it consistent with evangelical doctrine. The omission in the New Creed is without reaffirmations. It is inconsistent with the great evangelical doctrines which the Oberlin Declaration so lately as 1871 reaffirms. Any one who believes in probation after death can sign the New Creed. No one holding that dangerous error can sign the Burial Hill Declaration of Faith or the Oberlin statement. The excuse offered by the conservative members of the commission is, therefore, painfully insufficient.

When the Burial Hill Declaration was adopted the heresy of the hypothesis of probation after death was not afflicting the churches. It is now under discussion and has been advocated in prominent quarters. A manly creed speaks out as to the evils of the time in which it is drawn up. The New Creed evades issues of the highest practical moment in the life and faith of the Churches.

8. The New Creed is in direct conflict with both the latter and the earlier historic declarations of the Congregational Churches.

It conflicts hopelessly with the Oberlin Declaration of 1871. It is in antagonism to the Burial Hill Declaration of 1865

It violates the principles expressed or implied in most of the local creeds of Congregational Churches in England and the

United States. The Declaration of Faith of the Congregational Churches of England and Wales, as published annually in the official Year Book of the denomination, affirms, "that at death," the souls of believers, "perfectly freed from all remains of evil, are immediately received into the presence of Christ."\* I know that this creed is not binding on the English Independents. I am quite aware that many prominent men among them repudiate the doctrine here taught. As several of these men are in positions that give them audiences, and have the habit of the pen, they have caused many careless observers to think that the English body of Congregationalists is entirely unsound on this subject. But, if you will look into a note which Professor Schaff publishes from Dr. Stoughton,† you will find due notice taken of all these facts, but, at the same time, the assertion made that "in most cases" the Congregational Churches in England have trust-deeds which do include the substance of these articles, and that most of the Congregational ministers are "moderately" Calvinistic in conviction. It is not long since I was in England a second time, and I often had conversation on this topic, and received information in entire accordance with this statement of Dr. Stoughton. It may be you could not get this set of articles adopted by the Union to-day; but the chief reason would be, as Dr. Stoughton says in the note to which I have referred, that the English Independents do not regard it as good policy to have a general creed, binding, even in an informal way, the separate Churches.

It is wholly impossible for a believer in second probation to sign the most honoured of the current or of the historic declarations of faith by Congregational bodies in Europe and America.

The New Creed is not only in conflict with the accepted and standard creeds of Congregationalists, but it is by no means explicit enough to exclude what those creeds have uniformly, either explicitly or implicitly, pronounced dangerous errors.

4. The New Creed is out of harmony with the hymns, the prayers, and the most earnest preaching, not only of the Congregational, but of all Evangelical Churches.

One of the supreme proofs that a theology is sound is that it is preachable, and when preached makes regenerated men. No theology is adequately proved until it is absorbed into the hymns and prayers, and the most incisive preaching of all the earnest Evangelical Churches. As everyone knows, evangelical

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\* Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," Vol. III., p. 732.

† Vol. I., pp. 834, 835.

prayers, and hymns, and preaching do not use the hypothesis of probation after death, except to deny it.

5. The New Creed is a fast and loose compromise. It is a tissue of latitudinarian loopholes. What would be the result of adopting it? A millenium of milk and water. The New Creed represents rather what a few holders of eccentric doctrines could be brought to sign than what the denomination, as represented in its councils or the working faith of its active Churches, really holds. As, in a spring, the water sinks to the lowest level of the banks around it, so, in the New Creed, the doctrine sinks to the lowest level represented by the various conflicting views of the committee which drew it up.

A commission of twenty-five would be represented by a quorum of thirteen. A majority of such a quorum would be seven. This quorum send out a proposition to the other members of the committee; some of them are at great distances and never met with the majority; one was on the Pacific Slope. With the proposition may be sent by mail the statement that a majority are expected to sign it. "Will you sign it?" is the question. A man of sensitive nature, and given to peace, is exposed to a great temptation under such circumstances. As a result of courtesy rather than of conviction, it would not be surprising if some of the majority signed this Creed for the sake of peace. The Creed, as it stands, represents rather the courtesies than the convictions of the denomination. As individuals, many of the twenty-two constituting the majority are as evangelical as any of us.

5. The New Creed represents only a majority of the commission which issues it, and is opposed by a minority of weight and dignity. One of them is a well-known and revered secretary of the American Board (Dr. Alden), another a professor of theology at the Hartford Seminary, the editor of Professor H. G. Smith's theological works (Dr. Karr); the third was the influential pastor of the First Congregational Church, in Chicago (Dr. Goodwin); and they will undoubtedly be heard from yet, as to their reasons for refusing to sign the Creed. These reasons are well understood to be founded chiefly on its omissions—especially on the topics of eschatology, inspiration and the Atonement.

7. The interpretation of the New Creed, put upon it by the leading admirers of its deficiencies, shows that it is regarded as a victory for the new latitudinarians.\*

8. As such, it has no claim whatever to be regarded as a

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\* See the *Christian Union* for March, 1864.

satisfactory representation of the standard views of the great mass of the denomination.

I have no ecclesiastical motives. I have no ecclesiastical standing, and want none. Wendell Philips used to say—God bless his memory!—that if one undertakes to discuss reform he should have no party to support, no candidate to defend, no bread to earn. I am discussing religious reform without the slightest glance toward selfish considerations. I am likely to be very severely attacked for what I am saying this morning; and, perhaps, may lose much by my temerity. But I am attached to sound views. I am profoundly in love with evangelical truth, and do not like to see the veins of America filled with milk and water.

9. The Creed threatens divisions in churches in which the present articles of faith contain the expressions excluded by the new articles.

10. Wherever it is received, and its omissions made use of by latitudinarian church-members, preachers, and theological teachers, it must inevitably destroy the Biblical tone of preaching and cut the nerve of evangelistic labour, both at home and in missions.

11. It is marked by a strange disproportionateness, in its emphasis of doctrine. It omits the attributes of God, and exalts infant baptism. Without speaking with disrespect of average Congregational views on this latter topic, it may be asked if anything was to be omitted for the sake of peace, why not something often considered a non-essential? I am not now attacking those who defend infant baptism, nor objecting to the public consecration of offspring to God. I wish to speak reverently on that whole theme. But it is a little annoying to one who is attached to all the denominations to find under this New Creed a man whom Unitarians or Universalists would claim could be received and ordained, and the chairman of this lectureship, whom President McCosh has just invited to Princeton College to lead evangelistic services, would be shut out. Dr. Gordon could not come into the Congregational Church under this New Creed; the author of "My country, 'tis of thee," could not come in because of what is said on the subject of infant baptism, although on the other points they may be in entire agreement with us. A Professor Hackett or a President Wayland would be shut out as not believing in infant baptism; but men who are almost the broadest of latitudinarians could be admitted, provided they held on that subject what this creed thinks it important to emphasize.

12. The supreme objection to the New Creed is that it is not biblical.

By admitting to the pews, the pulpit, the Sabbath-school and the theological chair, false views in eschatology and weak ones on the Atonement and Inspiration, it destroys the biblical tone of the inculcations of the churches. It permits an alteration in the answer to the question, What must I do to be saved? Whatever does this touches fundamentals in both faith and practice.

(1.) It allows the belief and teaching in the pews, the pulpit, the Sunday-school and the theological chair that for some men it is not unsafe to die impenitent. It allows the full belief in second probation and the teaching of it, as well as in the mere hypothesis of probation after death.

(2.) It nowhere points out the folly of depending on another life for the opportunity of repentance. It nowhere insists on the duty of immediate repentance.

(3.) It does not require a belief in the resurrection of the wicked. It might be signed by an annihilationist. It allows churches to have good and regular standing, and yet be made up of annihilationists, or second probationists, who would, of course, secure the teaching of their own views in their pulpits, Sunday-schools and theological chairs.

(4.) It allows the belief and the teaching in the pews, the pulpit, the Sunday-school and the theological chair that the righteous are not safe when they die, and that they may fall away, for their probation lasts until the day of general judgment. It has been the devout faith of the Church for ages that the souls of believers are at death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory. It has been the belief of Evangelical Churches that to die is gain, and that to be absent from the body is to be present with the Lord. But the New Creed allows the denial of this biblical faith.

(5.) It is entirely consistent with prayers for both the righteous and for the impenitent dead. I affirm that the Catholic doctrine of prayer for the dead is a sound one if the doctrine of a second probation be a correct belief. If the hypothesis of probation after death be accepted, by as much as I am earnest in affirming it to be true, by so much I ought to be earnest in praying for the dead.

(6.) The New Creed slurs the holy of holies of Christian doctrine and life—the Atonement.

(7.) It minimizes the doctrine of the inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Scriptures in religious things.

II. *What are some of the possible remedies for the mischiefs the New Creed with its omissions may originate?*

1. A full and authoritative presentation to the public of the

reasons which induced the minority of the commission to refuse to sign the Creed. There has been a majority report. There ought to be something like a minority report. The churches have a right to hear both sides in full. The intrinsic merits of the majority report cannot be determined without a minority report.

2. A wide and impartial canvass of the opinions of the leading minds and most active Christians of the denomination. Associations, theological professors, preachers, laymen, should be asked to speak out. Their verdict should be ascertained, not in a partisan way, but by methods insuring fairness to all views.

3. If it seems necessary after such canvass, a new committee of larger numbers should draw up an improved creed, that creed should be submitted to a majority of those who signed this Creed, and I have no doubt it would be signed by them. Many of the conservative men who signed the New Creed for the sake of peace, I am sure would be glad to sign an improved creed, and thus improve their own position in our Christian esteem.

4. It is highly advisable that the churches should not rush hastily into the adoption of the New Creed, before they have heard it discussed. It will take months to bring out both sides. The National Council of the Congregational Churches, may, perhaps, be expected to re-affirm its historic standards of 1871 and 1865.

5. Examinations of candidates for the ministry should be made thorough on the points of error and weakness allowed by the New Creed, and such as hold views not in accord with the biblical, evangelical and historic standards of the Congregational churches should be refused ordination.

*The New Creed is intended for preachers as well as laymen. Wherever it is adopted it will be held to be ungracious, if not unlawful, to examine candidates on the topics it does not mention.*

6. Only a general and profound revival of religious life can effectually counteract the present perils of the Congregational churches.

7. In parishes where new Congregational churches are founded teaching probation after death, it is to be doubted whether Presbyterians can be expected to refrain, as they now do, from founding Presbyterian churches, supporting the historic faith common to the Congregational and the Presbyterian bodies of believers.

Lord Chatham said he was glad Americans had rebelled. I venture to affirm for one, that, in communities were the errors

which this New Creed allows are taught by Congregational churches, denominational courtesy ought not to go to the extreme in refusing to found other churches. If that is heresy, make the most of it. I am threatened, privately, with a pauper's funeral, for certain things I say publicly. Let me have the funeral of a pauper, rather than not have that of an honest man.

Every denomination, except the Congregationalists and Baptists, has some provision for keeping the churches in orthodoxy. An Episcopalian preacher may adopt lax views; but two or three times each week he reads the liturgy, and this keeps sound views before the people. Congregationalists have no liturgy, no bishops, no Presbyteries. The men who come into Congregational churches on weak statements of faith may rule the churches. It is necessary for Congregationalists to have a clear and sound creed; for, under their polity, the body of church members has control.

Therefore, whatever may be the consequences to myself for this utterance, I stand in life where I expect to repose in thought and faith in death, on Plymouth Rock. I lock hands with John Hancock, who lies buried across the street, in yonder sacred enclosure, and I humbly commend to the Congregational body, and to all Evangelical Churches, his motto: "*Obsta principiis*—resist the beginnings of evil."

## THE LECTURE

### *SPIRITUAL TRUTHS VERIFIABLE BY EXPERIENCE— A COSMOPOLITAN FAITH.*

NATURAL theology has two meanings. A theology may be natural because founded on truth inherent in the nature of things and belonging to the constitution of the universe ; or a theology may be natural because *ascertained* by the natural capabilities of man without any aid from revelation. It is evident that we do not know the whole scope of natural theology in the former sense. Probably we can never have an exhaustive and certainly never an infallible knowledge of it. Natural theology must be discovered by the use of the human faculties ; and they are liable to err. At the very best it is the product of the unaided human capacities ; and, because it is in that sense natural, it is fallible. I exalt natural theology ; for I am now discussing the progress of that branch of religious science ; but I recognise its limitations, and I point to them lest you think me extravagant in bringing into the sphere of natural truths many propositions commonly supposed to belong only to the region of revealed verities. It is one thing to go into the Mammoth cave of Kentucky without a torch and wander about in the darkness feeling after the chasms, stalactites and walls. It is another thing to go in with a torch, come out and then go back without a torch. Natural theology, as it was discussed before Christianity appeared in the world, was an exploration of a mammoth cavern without a torch. Christianity has shown us the interior of the labyrinth of our relations to God : and now,



it may be, that we can go into the cavern without that torch and wander much further than we could ever have done had we received no assistance from it at the outset. If I bring into natural theology, therefore, a number of truths which you have supposed to belong to revelation let it be remembered that I am speaking of the Mammoth cave after it has been revealed to us by the torch. We go back into it without the torch ; but we know now what we saw in it when we had the torch.

Standing at Lotze's grave, let me call hither Keshub Chunder Sen and Marcus Aurelius, and Plato and Socrates and all devout theists from every age. In this sublime presence, let me read the outline of my personal creed in natural theology.

1. Communion with Nature after the pagan and unscientific view of natural law is given up, becomes communion with a Person ; upsetting natural law is the enthronement of its Author. As natural laws are only the methods of God's action, wherever they touch us He presses upon us. I am no pantheist ; I am no idealist ; I do not deny the existence of second causes ; but I affirm unflinchingly that natural laws are only the methods of God's action, and that we must not assert that the universe is governed by natural law, but only according to natural law. It is incontrovertible that natural laws enswathe us, saturate us, fill everything above us, around us, below us, within us. If we take the wings of the morning and fly to the uttermost parts of the earth, if we ascend into heaven if we descend into hell, they are there. But *they are He*.

2. It is a Person who presses upon us in the world of facts, the world of laws, and the world of worths—the three regions into which Lotze divided the universe of our experience. It is a Person who touches us in all the facts, laws and standards of the True ; in all the facts, laws and standards of the Beautiful ; and in all the facts, laws, and standards of the Good.

3. The facts of our communion with this person are spiritual truths verifiable by experience.

4. Our intuitions are the profoundest of these facts and they result from the indwelling of that Infinite Personality in our souls. As Frances Power Cobbe has said: "Our intuition is God's tuition."

5. All the intuitive truths are verifiable by experiment.

6. All the instincts, moreover, are direct implantations of the Divine Wisdom. They are contacts with a Person in whom we live and move and have our being.

7. They and the intuitions taken together are the source of our faith in God, freedom, immortality. This faith is taught us by the methods of action of God in ourselves. It is a faith verifiable by studying all the facts of our experience in our intuitions and instincts.

8. The pressure of God upon the soul and within the soul is never to be escaped by the soul in this life or the next.

9. It is self-evident that two cannot walk together unless they are agreed.

10. It is demonstrable, therefore, that the soul must learn to love what God loves, and hate what He hates; and that otherwise it can have no peace here or hereafter. Similarity of feeling with God is a necessity to our harmonization with our unescapable environment.

11. Harmony of the human faculties with each other, each at its best, is also necessary to the peace of the soul with itself.

12. But it is demonstrable by experience that such harmony is possible only by total, affectionate, irreversible self-surrender to conscience and to the Person who touches the soul in the holy of holies of conscience.

The facts of unrest, of human imperfection and of the most positive guilt are all demonstrable by experience, and all point to the necessity of a spiritual regeneration.

Keshub Chunder Sen held these truths as earnestly as

I do. He regarded them as the unassailable basis of the religion of theism. Throughout the whole world, in our transitional age, we should hold the most enlightened sceptics as well as the darkest pagan minds to these organising and redemptive truths; for they demonstrate the necessity of the New Birth.

13. Communion with God in Nature means communion with the highest in Nature. But the highest in the individual soul is Conscience, and the highest in history is the Christ. Whatever more he was or was not, Christ was certainly man at his climax. But each faculty must be allowed to stand erect. It must be so used as to have peace with all the other faculties, each at its best. Conscience at its best is the ideal to which we are scientifically certain that we ought to conform.

Conscience has appeared at its best but once, and then in the Sinless One.

You are to have harmony with your environment; are you? You are to come into fellowship with Nature; are you? Very well; the highest outcome of the forces around us is the sinless character of the Christ. In Him conscience was obeyed; and now, if you are to have harmony with the forces around you, whether you call them natural or supernatural, you must have harmony with their very highest outcome; that is, with the conscience in the Christ, who was man at his climax. Communion with God demonstrably requires in us harmony with the Christlike.

14. As it is a Person, infinite in all perfections, with whom we are face to face, we are certain of the commanding reality of our personal responsibility to God.

15. But the human relations of person to person, include dissonance as well as harmony; and so may the relations of man as a person to God as a person be those of either dissonance or harmony.

16. The fact of human experience is that when evil is

wilfully done by one person against another person among men, conscience, if allowed free action, inexorably requires that atonement should be made to the person injured.

17. Great natural laws, that is, the methods of God's action in the soul, prevent the person committing the injury from having peace in the presence and fellowship of the person injured until this atonement is made.

18. Conscience requires of the offender, confession, restitution, the purpose of a better life, remorse.

19. All these, however, are found in experience to be not enough to give peace. The great organic operations of conscience are such that harmony between the offending and the injured person can be restored only when, in addition to all these methods of harmonisation, mercy and forgiveness on the part of the injured person are, by some emphatic act, unmistakably exhibited to the person committing the injury.

20. Wherever the soul stands in relation to a person not among men, but above men, the same principles of personal responsibility are found in operation.

21. When sin is committed by a human person against the Divine Person, all the demands of conscience as to confession, restitution, punishment, remorse, a new life, and an emphatic act of mercy and forgiveness, are God's own demands.

All this, you think, results from the operation of natural laws in the soul, especially from the natural laws of conscience. How long are you to worship an utterly misleading phrase? How long are you to rest in that pagan conception of *natural laws*? The laws of conscience are but the methods of God's action in the soul. There are sins for which men never forgive themselves. The constitution of conscience which prevents some men from forgiving themselves is a revelation of God's will. The fact that there may be an unpardonable sin is written in the human soul as well as in the Holy Word. There is

a class of sentimentalists who assert that God never inflicts punishment, but that it occurs by natural law. But what is natural law? How many times must it be reiterated that it is the method of God's action. He is a father; He is a judge: He is infinitely tender: He is infinitely just. What occurs under natural law occurs under God's personal touch, in life, in death, and beyond death.

22. The past is irreversible. Our consciences and God must for ever face our record of sin.

23. Deliverance not only from the love of sin, but also from the guilt of it, is demonstrably necessary to our peace. In the very nature of things, our harmonisation with our environment by the Divine Omnipresence, the conscience, and our irreversible evil record cannot possibly be effected without this double deliverance.

24. Merely natural theology points out, therefore, not only the necessity of a New Birth, but that also of an Atonement.

25. In the organic operations of conscience, in harmony with God as well as its operations in dissonance with Him, the soul is face to face with God's method of action.

26. It is a fact of universal human experience that yielding utterly and gladly to conscience brings light and peace to the soul.

The influx of a strange new strength always accompanies complete surrender to conscience.

It is written in the Holy Word that God is more willing to give His Spirit to those who ask Him than fathers are to give bread to their children. Ethical science asserts that this is written, also, in the constitution of man. You ask to what I am coming? Do I mean to affirm that natural theology is saving? Is it possible to construct a cosmopolitan faith on the facts of spiritual experience, and to make that faith so efficient as really to save the soul? That is a question which I am approaching; but I do so in the boldest way. I will not blink the exigencies of the

discussion. The field of natural theology has broadened, and even at the risk of exciting your suspicion that natural theology may be saving, I must show you how broad it is.

27. Merely natural theology, I contend, does include not only the doctrine of a New Birth and of an Atonement, but of a Holy Spirit as a personal being, or the Oversoul within the soul.

Mere Emersonianism, mere neo-Platonism, you say. Much more, if you please. And, yet, I think Mr. Emerson was nearly orthodox on the topic of a Holy Spirit. If he had lived long enough to work out that truth to intellectual and spiritual clearness it might have rectified his opinions on many another theme.

28. The Oversoul within the soul develops an increasing consciousness of sin; but, if sin is abandoned, then a growing bliss, a regenerate consciousness.

29. This consciousness, itself a new experience, is a new means of verifying certain forms of spiritual truth.

Is there, within the sound of my voice, any religious teacher who does not affirm, constantly, that Christ stands at the door of the human soul and knocks, and that whoever opens to Him will find Him entering and ready to sit down and eat with the one who has admitted Him, and to enter all the rooms of the palace of the human spirit and fill them with light and joy. I hold that this truth is written on the pages of natural theology also, or at least an analogous truth. The Lord, the Giver of life, to Whom natural theology points as the Supreme Power over mind, as well as over matter, knocks at the door of conscience. The soul was made by this Person who enswathes us. Our power of shutting or opening the door of the soul was given us by Him. It is His knocking which awakens us, and woos us to such an attitude as makes it easy for us to open the door. We must do so gladly, or we cannot do so at all. The key of the soul is a choice, a confirmed prefer-

ence, a total self-surrender ; not an iron resolution merely, but an affectionate opening of the soul to God, Our faculties having been given us from on high, and this power of opening being stimulated by the Divine knocking, it may be said that the entrance is wholly God's work. Nevertheless, there is a human power and duty in this matter. We have the natural power to open the door. When we open it and give to Him who knocks the key, at that instant He enters, and floods the palace of the soul with the effulgence of His own glory. This, I contend, with the consent of Lotzè, of Plato, of Marcus Aurelius, of Keshub Chunder Sen, is a fact of ethical science, a fact that might be known without the aid of revelation, a fact verifiable by experiment.

30. All spiritual truths verifiable by experiment ought to become, in our time, in the name of Science itself, a Cosmopolitan Faith. Socrates, Plato, Marcus Aurelius, Emerson, Keshub Chunder Sen allow me to call these thirty articles the Cosmopolitan Faith of Natural and Comparative Religion.

When the telescope is directed upon a star, it is not the astronomer who produces in the chamber of the instrument the image of the orb in heaven. The astronomer can point the tube ; he can adjust the lenses ; but at the instant of the exact coincidence of the axis of the telescope with the line of the ray from the star, the ray dashes down it, and there burns in the dark chambers of the poor human instrument an image of the orb in the azure. In a similar way, God has a part and man a part in the conversion of the soul. We can yield ; but our yielding is something brought about by the Divine solicitation. The very power by which we adjust the lenses and set the tube in the proper attitude is given us from on high. These instruments are all God's gift. We do our part ; we adjust the soul, and, at the instant of our total and affectionate surrender to him, God flashes through us and produces the

image of Himself in the soul, a witness, a peace, a source of bliss and growth.

Undoubtedly, if you bring natural truth or revealed truth to that light in the soul, you will find a new illumination cast upon them. This is what I call the true doctrine of Christian consciousness. If you bring your personal sins to that light, they will be burned up in its intense flame.

Is that light enough to save us? Is that light enough to give us the sense of forgiveness? Is that light enough to make us sure that we have obtained remission of sins?

The Christian doctrine is that Christ is at the right hand of God. He sheds forth thence His Spirit upon all believers. Where is the right hand of God? Everywhere.\*

Put aside your narrow notions of a local appearance of God. It may be that there is something corresponding to our poor human conception on this point; but when I am told that Christ is at God's right hand, I love to remember that whoever is at God's right hand is everywhere. The omnipresent, essential Christ, the Logos, is knocking everywhere, and when admitted to the soul gives the evidence of His approval. Nevertheless, I believe it to be a fact of human history that no great company of believers, however it may have been with individuals here and there, has ever received anything like a deep, reasonable, fructifying conviction of pardon, except under the Christian scheme. The Christian believes that he has the inner witness of his acceptance with God through Christ. We cannot say that the Christian consciousness is enough to prove the deity of our Lord. That would be a false use of it. It is, however, enough to prove that the Holy Spirit is given us when we yield to God. But who knows of any company of men who have

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\* Prof. B. H. HITCHCOCK, "Journal of Christian Philosophy," June, 1898.



### *VERIFIABLE BY EXPERIENCE.*

ever drawn from the testimony of the inner witness a full assurance of pardon of sin unless it be a company of Christians under the action of the Holy Spirit, and resting not merely on its testimony but on that of the great external facts of revealed truth? Before the day of Pentecost were there any large companies, even of theistic believers, who had such a hope of pardon, except through sanctification by a Spirit to be poured out more fully in the latter days, and through an atonement then to be made?

Plato, more wise than many theists, saw the insufficiency of theism even in its most lofty development. Make mere theism great, if you would make it seem small. Make natural theology efficient, if you would prove it to be insufficient. Is the regenerate consciousness, vivified and exalted by the Oversoul within the soul, a sufficient guide to religious truth, without an external revelation? Keshub Chunder Sen answered "Yes." So did Emerson. I must answer No. But its insufficiency does not undermine our faith in its efficiency. Let us maintain that it is efficient. Let us maintain, with equal emphasis, that it is insufficient.

## THE PRELUDE.

### INDEPENDENT VOTERS IN AMERICAN POLITICS—CHIEF ISSUES OF THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

JEFFERSON DAVIS affirms that the South now has its hand on the helm of the American ship of state. The *New York Tribune* asserts that the South is again in the saddle. When two authorities, standing at the antipodes of our politics, thus agree, it is perhaps not unwise to accept the harmony of opinion as a guide to practical duty. The Southern problem is yet a political force. We have yet to finish the work of the martyrs who gave up their lives that the South might be reorganised on the highest principles of civilisation. It will not be thus reorganized as long as the South is in the saddle. I am no politician ; I have no party to defend, no candidate to elect, no place to gain. But my conviction is profound that each of these authorities speaks more than a half truth.

The peculiarities of the coming Presidential election are twelve :

1. Neither of the great historic parties has a majority.
2. There is a growing number of independent voters, and they hold the balance of power.
3. Civil Service Reform in the National Government is at stake.
4. Civil Service Reform in State and City Governments is also at stake.
5. The suppression of Southern outrages is one great end to be gained, and cannot be expected from any political party under the control of Southern leaders.
6. Mormonism is an issue of high moment in national politics.
7. The tariff is an issue of increasing importance.
8. It is of the utmost importance to defeat the worst political party, and to purify the best.
9. Never was the plunder at stake on a Presidential election as great as now.
10. While no absorbing questions of reform divide geographical sections in the Republic as deeply as they have lately

done, good men of all parties, north and south, east and west, ought to be expected to stand together to demand the best possible Presidential nomination.

11. If the best men of all parties speak out early and loudly they will be heard ; if they speak softly and tardily they will be sold by political managers.

12. The questions which should rouse the nation are those that touch profound matters of right and wrong as well as of expediency and in expediency.

Some of the questions to be decided in the next Presidential election are these : (See President Seelye's and Hon. Carl Schurz's addresses at the late New York meeting of leaders in Independent Politics )

Is it right or wise to allow the spoils system in politics to throttle the merit system ? Is it right or wise to abandon the nation, states, and cities, merely to partisan greed and fraud ? Is it right or wise to give up Civil Service Reform ? The souls of our martyrs, the corruptions of great cities and of many State legislatures, the vast interests of the future answer No to these inquiries ; and let all the people say Amen !

Is it right or wise to allow the shot-gun aristocracy to ride rough-shod over the civil rights of freedmen in the South ? Is it right or wise to allow laws to be made for the nation by the aid of members of Congress sent to their places by the use of terror, fraud, or murder ? All the past, all the future interests of the country answer No ; and let the people say Amen.

Is it right or wise to put the government of the country into the hands of any political party which will be led by those who led the rebellion ? Is it right or wise to allow the South to sit in the saddle ? The souls of our martyrs say No ; and let all the people say Amen !

Is it right or wise to repudiate State debts ? Is it right or wise to allow debts contracted in one currency to be liquidated in another ? All the past and future interests of the country say No ; and let all the people say Amen !

Is it right or wise to allow the liquor traffic to poison the people, manufacture drunkards, paupers, lunatics, taxes, and ruined homes, corrupt politics, and fatten on vast, unrighteous gains ? Every honest trade ought to say No ; and let all the people say Amen !

Is it right or wise to allow women, and children, and men, and politicians, and natural law, and national law, and new territory, to be eaten up bodily by the Mormon cancer ? All interests, sacred and secular, say No ; and let the people, from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate, say Amen !

Resisting the temptation to expand upon propositions which seem to interest some of you, I pause only on Civil Service Reform, Southern outrages, and Mormonism for detailed comment.

Unless the people exercise eternal vigilance, the cause of Civil Service Reform is safe in the hands neither of the Democrats nor of the Republicans, out of office. There are more independent voters now than for the last two generations. If the people do not express themselves boldly and early, those who are inside politics, the mercenary managers of elections, the directors of what is called the political machine, are very sure to succeed and to trample on what they call the fanaticism or imbecility of Civil Service reformers. It is true that we have now had such an experience in Civil Service Reform that the people are possessed of facts justifying the predictions of its earliest friends. Nevertheless, Civil Service Reform has not yet received its crown. It could easily be starved out of existence by a Congress in both branches opposed to it. In its national form it has come very near being ruined within a month by a strictly party vote. The whole enterprise of reforming the spoils system and substituting the merit system stands yet on a footing of great uncertainty. Although independent voters are very generally friends of the reform, those who vote first for party and afterward for the people, cannot be trusted, even when connected with the best of political parties, to protect this great nascent amelioration in our national affairs. We must follow the example of the Young Men's Club of Brooklyn, which has twice elected Mayor Low. We must insist on the application of the rules of Civil Service Reform to States and corrupt municipalities as well as to the nation at large. When you trust either political party, as managed by the ordinary leaders educated under the spoils system to carry Civil Service Reform into States that have been corrupted by the old form of management, or into cities that are governed by rings, you depend on the lion to protect the lamb. You cannot hope for success for your cause unless the Civil Service Reform clubs, with a mass of independent voters behind them, can so intimidate the manipulators of the machine as to make them cease opposition to Civil Service rules. We have, as yet, in the Civil Service law at its best only a tentative initial measure. To get all we can from the law would be to get too little for our safety. I believe that the next Presidential election will go far to decide whether there is to be, every four years, when parties change, a clean sweep made of all our officers in the Civil Service, and new men put in and old ones turned out for partisan reasons.

Nothing can save the nation under party government and universal suffrage except making a clean sweep of all politicians who want to make a clean sweep of officers every four years.

As for Southern outrages, I have already advocated on this platform an extension of the field of the law and order leagues. The Freedmen are organizing leagues of their own. In Ohio the coloured men are forming associations for the protection of their own civil rights, and are extending their organizations into States south of Ohio. Civilization expects black men to stand erect in their undoubted manhood, and on their undeniable civil rights, and to succeed, under the law of the survival of the fittest, in the struggle for existence. They are gaining education and wealth faster than the poor whites.

On Mormonism what need I say, except that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions has not as many servants sent out to the four winds as the President of the Mormon hierarchy has. There are more Mormon missionaries than missionaries of the American Board in the world. As softly as a snowflake there floated over the Rocky Mountains from Utah, not long since, a written missive from Mrs. Paddock, an authoress of repute, to my blessed wife, detailing certain Mormon experiences, so pathetic and characteristic that I have been unable to forget them by day or by night. "A few years ago," the letter reads, "an educated, intelligent gentleman, a journalist, came here from Europe, bringing his young wife with him. How such people came to be entangled in the meshes of Mormonism was a marvel; but both appeared to be sincere believers in the Latter Day Gospel. Soon a strong pressure was brought to bear upon the husband to induce him to contract a second marriage. The wife, finding opposition vain, at length gave her consent, and the bride was brought home. A few months afterwards the first wife became a mother. The poor babe, doomed to bear the sins of others, never smiled and never cried aloud; but always, night and day, it wept silently. Even in sleep great tears forced themselves from beneath its closed eyelids and rolled down over its cheeks, while its face bore the expression, not of infantile grief, but of the terrible anguish that the mother had endured in secret. After a few weeks it began to pine away, and at length, without any visible ailment, sank into its grave. 'My baby died of a broken heart,' said the wretched mother. 'Every hour of its little life it shed the tears that I repressed before its birth; and the agony that I hid in my heart killed it at last.'"

All the face of Utah seems to me to be symbolized by that of this little child. A territory vaster than New England; a territory

sifted with gold and precious stones ; a territory filled with a population almost wholly under subjection to the aristocracy of the harem ; a territory which you allow to be coursed by rivers of agony ; a territory into whose face you look with indifference while the bitter waters furrow it ! At the next Presidential election remember the weeping face of poisoned Utah, remember the agonized moanings of those whom polygamy oppresses, and take your inspiration from the Word of God and from natural law, which provide that what God has joined together man shall not put asunder. Let there be no President who will not execute national law against the accursed atrocities of Mormonism.

I feel sure that the first preference of many in Massachusetts in the next Presidential contest would be for the son of the Green Mountains and the son of the prairies, Edmunds and Lincoln.

## THE LECTURE.

### *CHRISTOCENTRIC NATURAL THEOLOGY—THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE AS A TEST OF RELIGIOUS TRUTH.*

Natural Theology must be Christocentric. If this claim seems novel or extravagant, I shall need to justify it only by the two great facts that Christ as man, and He only, exhibits human nature at its best; and that Natural Theology, as a religious science, is founded on human nature at its best. The law of the Ascent of Life requires us to judge every individual by the highest capacities of the type to which he belongs. The capacities of man have been exhibited at their best only once. Whether we agree that Christ is God or not, we are all agreed that He is man at his climax. Natural Theology must take into view all the human faculties, each at its best, and the whole set of them in harmony. They have appeared at their best but once, they have appeared in harmony but once. As Christ is man at his climax, and as Natural Theology is founded on the nature of man at his best, it follows that Natural Theology must be Christocentric.

The doubt of the superficial and ill-informed as to the reality of the earthly life of Christ is passing away. Infidels of competent capacity, and anything like large education no longer deny that four of Paul's epistles were written before the year 60. This is granted by the most destructive critics. The history of the first twenty-five years of Christianity is so well known that a man must be ignorant indeed to dispute the great facts which Christianity uses at the basis of its faith. You may dispute the interpretation of the facts; but that a perfect man appeared, and

that he was the founder of Christianity, no intelligent person now doubts. The sinlessness of His character is asserted by many who deny the deity of our Lord.

Nothing has attracted much more attention lately, in Germany, than the school of Ritschl, whom I heard lecture at Göttingen; a narrow, sour, cold, egotistical, and, as I think, a rather superficial man, little better than a Socinian in his theology. He is teaching that Christ as man must be regarded as the centre of any true ethical philosophy, because he is the best specimen of human nature, and the only complete specimen. He only illustrates the possible sinlessness of man. If, therefore, our Natural Theology is to take into view all the points that illustrate human nature, it must take into view Christ, and so become Christocentric. You did not think Natural Theology had a department which should be called Christology. It may be a little venturesome to make this suggestion; but I think it none too early to do so. I am not sure that the thought is original, although it is new to me. There is certainly a department in Natural Theology which should be called Christology. The doctrine of the Christ as a perfect man should be a portion of Natural Theology and natural religion.

And here I reach the crown of my discussion of progress of Natural Theology. The supreme step in the progress of Natural Theology in the future will be to bring it into harmony with Him who was man at his climax. What does that harmony imply? Not dogma only, but life.

There comes to us from India a statement that a great oration was delivered in memory of Keshub Chunder Sen by his disciple, Babu Mozoomdar, the sound of whose voice has hardly ceased to echo on our shores. Keshub Chunder Sen held only Natural Theology. He was a Theist, believing in natural religion only. And yet he believed in inspiration. He believed in prayer; he believed in the



pre-existence of Christ as much as Ritschl does. If you ask Ritschl, in Germany, if Christ pre-existed, he will say yes, as a divine idea. It was always in God's purpose to bring into the world a perfect human character. This is an atrociously low doctrine. The Church would loathe any Christology that did not amount to immeasurably more than this. But I am not speaking to the churches; I am speaking to those who doubt whether natural religion can be made anything like a science; whether it can be made a living flame, based on unassailable convictions. Keshub Chunder Sen not only believed it could be made such a flame, but he made it such in his own soul. To him natural religion was Christocentric. Hindu as he was by birth, eclectic as he was by system, in all his study of the religions of the world, he yet made the human nature of Christ the centre of his whole scheme of thought. He believed that there is a Kingdom of God in this world; that Christ aimed to do God's will, and that all who wish to do God's will are assisting in the foundation of that kingdom; and that Christ and God were one, because the will of Christ was utterly submitted to that of God. In this sense, and in this only, did he believe in the Kingdom of Christ; for he had not grasped the doctrine that our Lord has ascended into the heavens, and that wherever the Holy Spirit is, Christ is; and that, since Christ is at God's right hand, and since God's right hand is everywhere, our Lord is everywhere. These doctrines, which I think Keshub Chunder Sen would have reached on further study and experience, were beyond him. Christianity was too vast for him. But on the lower plane of merely Natural Theology, developed as it now must be, with Christ as its centre, he attained a position which was a vast blessing to India. He attained what he wished to make a cosmopolitan faith, and what I think he had a right to claim ought to commend the assent of all intelligent men. Keshub Chunder Sen is interpreted by his chief apostle,

Mozoomdar, to believe, as did Socrates, that there was within him a mighty voice. In the Town Hall at Calcutta, Babu Mozoomdar said:

“Often and repeatedly, Keshub Chunder Sen said that in his soul there was a mighty voice. He called it inspiration. He called it the Word of God. Without flinching and perfectly fearless, he stood upon this platform, surrounded by thousands of wondering men; and he said that in his soul he heard the utterances of the Most High. And if the whole world was arrayed against him, and all mankind risen in arms, he would vindicate the righteousness of that Eternal Voice. What was that voice? Was it not the Socratic counsellor, the adviser whom the Athenian sage recognized in his heart and consulted in every emergency of life? Was it not the comforter, whom Jesus, while death stared him in the face, promised to send unto his sorrowing disciples? Was it not the Pentecostal tongue of fire that descended in flames on the heads of the apostles, when they spoke strange languages and made mysterious appeals to the bystanders? Was it not the law of the Spirit of Life about whom Saint Paul spoke, when he taught with tremendous authority? Was it not the great *Shabda* or *Onkar* of the Vedas, the *Daiva Vani* of the Shastras? Were they not words heard in the ear of the spirit, the mysterious words leading to deeds of unspeakable moment? Aye; it was that voice, the identical voice speaking from behind the darkness of the centuries—speaking to every individual and to every nation—the voice of God—that inspiration or *Adesh* of which he loved to speak and write amid the trials and sorrows of his life. Friends, when this stream of perennial inspiration entered into the roots of his great genius, and touched his powers and his susceptibilities, he rose up, and in his rising hundreds rose, thousands rose. Men rose, women rose, the masses rose, the poor rose, the Punjab and Bombay and Madras, the North-west Provinces, and the provincial towns of Bengal—all

rose to give glory unto God, and to proclaim peace and goodwill among men. Such was the man, such the combination of influences in his soul. The Spirit of God was to him a teaching, consoling, faithful spirit."

I proclaim the doctrines of a Holy Spirit, a New Birth, an Atonement, and the Imitation of Christ as parts of Natural Theology. In the acceptance of this scientific and cosmopolitan faith, I would have Asia rise, and Africa rise, and the islands of the sea rise, and the rationalistic populations at the base of Christendom rise until they find that natural religion is really the vestibule to a full-orbed Christian faith. I insist on such progress in Natural Theology as will show that the vestibule is connected with the temple. Let us not for ever linger on the outer steps of natural religion. Let us, as Keshub Chunder Sen has done, boldly ascend into this vestibule, and march forward after we have reached its summit, until we stand at the entrance of the temple of Christianity itself. The grander you make Natural Theology, the sooner you will perceive that it is merely a vestibule to Christianity. I make it great, for I would have your stay in it short.

But, now, I raise the central question whether, when we thus conceive of Natural Theology as containing the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, of the New Birth, of an Atonement, and of the Imitation of Christ, it is a sufficient religion? We have high authority for saying that the publican who smote upon his breast, and said: "God be merciful to me a sinner," went down to his house justified. I believe he was justified only by an atonement that was to be made; but, as he completely surrendered his will to the Divine Will, relying on God's mercy, he had sent to him, doubtless, some witness of peace. Is that enough? I believe it is not. The subtlest kind of rationalism of our day is that which asserts that this is enough.

We are told that we need not know whether Christ is divine or not, or whether an Atonement has been made.

If we repent, a certain kind of peace comes to us by the natural operation of our faculties; we may believe ourselves forgiven; we need, so we are assured, no other religion than this. Natural Theology, thus conceived, loosely and in a frivolous spirit, is a halting-place; it hinders the soul from accepting Christianity.

It is the fact of deep experience, however, that if you receive abundantly the spirit which Socrates had, if any lance of the Pentecostal flame enters your soul deeply, if you are completely and always in earnest, if you surrender utterly to the still small voice, there will come to you such a sense of sin as can be appeased only by the sight of the cross. If you show me a soul on fire with devotion to the best it knows, a spirit humble before God as the publican was when he beat upon his breast; a soul like that of which our Lord said, "He went down to his house justified," I will show you a soul that will be glad to see our Lord, and that will find no peace till it reaches that conception of Christianity which teaches that we are to be delivered not merely from the love of sin, but from the guilt of it also; and that when we are delivered from the love of it, we are not thereby at all delivered from the guilt of it. Serious philosophy has asserted, since the world began, that the record of the past is irreversible, and that when we yield, no matter how affectionately, to God, the record yet remains behind us. The more we love what God loves, and hate what God hates, the more we shall loathe that record; so that the more thoroughly we yield to a Holy Spirit, of which Natural Theology teaches us, the more we shall perceive the need of an Atonement. The knowledge of a method of deliverance from the guilt of sin is the desire of all nations.

It is the frivolous loiterer in the vestibule of Natural Theology who thinks it is a sufficient house for time and eternity. I am anxious that you should study this vestibule so thoroughly as to convince yourselves that it is not

a sufficient house, that it is a fragment, and that all serious yielding to God, as revealed in Nature, implies the necessity of a screen let down between us and our black past.

Since Natural Theology must be Christocentric, it must be established not merely in the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; it must be established in the doctrine of the enormity of sin. It must be so in the doctrine of a ransom for the sinner. If Christ is our leader even in Natural Theology, we must take his view of God's righteousness and man's iniquity, and reconcile the two by Christ's methods.

No Natural Theology, as I profoundly believe, can be scientific until it is Christocentric. It must be Christocentric in the doctrine of sin as well as in the doctrine of forgiveness. It must be Christocentric as to an Atonement as well as in regard to the New Birth. It must be Christocentric as to public prayer and as to secret prayer. Let the world enter into its closet as Keshub Chunder Sen did into his; let it know what our Lord knew, secret vigils of devotion; let it gaze into God's face in the way in which Christ did, and it will be found that every mouth will be stopped, and every soul made guilty before God. Mere Natural Theology can point out the fact of guilt, but cannot provide the adequate means of deliverance from it.

If I had only Natural Theology to guide me, I should say that the light of Nature does point directly to the need of a Redeemer; that the necessity of a ransom is written in the very constitution of things. Natural Theology is a mere torso without the Atonement. It points onward and upward, and enlarges our agony unless we find the Christ at last. It does teach that we must be delivered from the love of sin and the guilt of it; it does not show us how we are to be delivered from the guilt of it. Natural Theology points out the necessity of freedom from guilt; it does not point out the remedy that meets the necessity.

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Christianity turns in the lock of a scientific Natural Theology. Make Natural Theology broad, make it severe, put into it all the wards of a lock of the most complicated structure, if you please. It will be found that the Christian doctrines of the Incarnation, of the New Birth, of the Atonement, turn in that lock. Key and lock are seen at last to be parts of one construction. Natural Theology and revealed theology, like key and lock, so match each other and explain each other, that we feel sure that he who made the lock also made the key. Related to each other as vestibule and temple, and the fitness of the one to the other, prove that the two had one architect.

Let me ask, at this sacred point in my discussion, and on the very height of this long course of thought to which you have listened so patiently, whether, in the domain of natural religion, when we yield to God utterly, a light comes into the soul that will enable us to tell what Scriptures are inspired? May we judge inspiration because ourselves possessed of something like inspiration? Keshub Chunder Sen thought this was the case. He developed what he believed to be a divine consciousness, and it was to him a touchstone of all truth in the Vedas, in the Koran, in the Bible. Without objective evidence he thought he had some secret within him which could teach him what is inspired and what is not.

It is evident that even the Christian consciousness, developed within the spheres of our holy faith itself, cannot touch all the points of religious truth. A distinction must be made between the doctrines common to natural and revealed theology, and those peculiar to revealed. Many doctrines are common to both spheres, some are peculiar to revelation. How can I know by Christian consciousness whether the doctrine of the Trinity is the truth or not? How can I know by the Christian consciousness whether the Resurrection is a fact or not? How can I know by any witness of the Spirit whether the angels tell

in heaven or not? How can I know whether our first parents fell or not, and whether there is a connection or not between the sin of our first parents and our present low estate? How can I know whether Christ appeared on earth, if I have only the witness of the consciousness within me? It may be that, by the Christian consciousness, I am qualified to affirm that the pure in heart, and peacemakers, and those who hunger and thirst for righteousness are blessed. The beatitudes may be understood in the depths of conscience, but the great historic facts attesting truths peculiar to revealed religion must be established by historic proof. The doctrines peculiar to revelation must be supported by both external and internal evidence, otherwise we have no right to receive them as the bases of religion. The Christian consciousness has no direct application to the truths not common to natural and revealed religion.

Is it true that, when we assume Christianity to be true, and live in accordance with it, we become possessed of such sensitiveness of soul that when we touch a doctrine we know whether it is of God? There is a sense in which the spiritually-minded discern spiritual truth, but spiritual truth is not all truth. Many historic points must be discussed historically even at the bar of the most enlightened Christian consciousness. As the æsthetically trained perceive best æsthetic truth, so the spiritually trained perceive best spiritual truth. To affirm that, because my enlightened or Christian consciousness is not quite satisfied with this doctrine or that, which is clearly revealed, I may reject it as no part of inspiration, is to arrogate an authority for the human spirit entirely beyond its capacity. Precisely this conceit is one of the most fascinating and fatal sources of mystic and individualistic errors in current theological discussion.

The Christian consciousness, what is it? Why, it is that high spiritual mood of feeling, and that devout judgment in which Christians agree age after age. Yes, but Chris-

tians have not agreed. Here are the Protestant and the Romish section of Christianity. Protestants hold that the Romanists have taught error, and yet will not affirm that Romanists cannot be Christians. Who are Christians? We must narrow the sphere of the Christian consciousness to the select Christians of the world, the real Christians. Who are the real? The principle of the Christian consciousness has been developed upward in the Church until it ends in Papal Infallibility. The Church is infallible, the Synods are infallible, the Pope is infallible, so we hear. But, developing the principle downward toward individualism, we come to the doctrine, which is now frequently proclaimed by latitudinarian mystics, that any spiritually enlightened man may know what is and what is not inspired in the New Testament. A false idea of the Christian consciousness may become a most arrogant tyrant. It is the individualistic Pope.

To substitute the Christian consciousness, in any sense, for adequately attested revelation and the scientific study of it, is the wildest insanity. I maintain that only the strictly self-evident truths, only the axiomatic principles of reason, only the plain deliverances of our organic instincts are to be taken as God's voice within us. I grant that conscience does infallibly point out the character of motives; but conscience and consciousness are two things. It is now too frequently held, not merely that the conscience knows infallibly whether motives are good or bad, but that our whole moral nature, acting under the influences of high spiritual training, may come to know what is religious truth and what is not. It may know, for instance, as we are told, whether all men are to be saved or not. It seems to us fitting that all men should be saved, therefore, any assertion of the Scriptures that some men are to be lost, we are to reject as of no authority, or at least, of not sufficient authority to override that of the Christian consciousness. We must learn to think in the spirit of



Christianity, even if we deny the very words of Christ. So a mystical, frivolous, dreaming superficiality in theology occasionally teaches. No sane theologian, no balanced man of any school has ever deliberately taught, so far as I know, that the Christian consciousness is a higher authority than God's word adequately attested as such. It is true that God's word must be found in harmony with axiomatic truth. It must be shown that axiomatic propositions nowhere come into conflict with the utterances of whatever claims to be God's word. But beyond the axiomatic principles or the intuition, strictly so-called, we have no right to affirm that there is a light within us co-ordinate in authority with revelation.

In the great and heroic ages, the severe truths of God's word have approved themselves to the Christian consciousness; in the weak and foppish ages they have not. No one age is deep or broad enough to touch all points of revealed truth. The Christian consciousness of no one age is a sufficient guide to religious truth. Many ages are not broad and deep enough to sound the abysses of revelation. Sometimes one aspect of truth has commended itself to the Christian consciousness and sometimes another, just as in the individual life we now feel deeply certain truths and now others. The whole trend of the ages is not enough to measure the scope of revelation. While spiritual truth is spiritually discerned, there is a set of truths peculiar to revelation which we must take on the authority of revelation as supernaturally attested.

What is ordinarily called the Christian consciousness would say that God ought not to have permitted sin. He has permitted it. If asked previous to the Creation, whether an Infinitely Perfect Being would permit sin, I should answer No; but I find that an Infinitely Perfect Being has permitted sin; therefore I know what assumes to be the Christian consciousness has misled me on one point. It may do so on others.

If you assure me that the Christian consciousness requires us to believe that there is a probation after death, and that if we do not believe this we do not cherish worthy ideas of God's eternal providence, I reply that the same Christian consciousness, if unflinchingly interrogated, would tell me that God ought not to have permitted sin at all. If I am to follow the Christian consciousness, as it is often defined, I must assert that there is no evidence that the universe is under a good government. I may become a pessimist, and believe that this is the worst of all possible worlds, if I follow merely the latest conceit of culture, and affirm that my conception of what ought to be should govern in everything my conception of what Omniscience and Omnipotence ought to do in the creation of the world.

Let us become Christocentric in our studies and thus in our lives. Let us be humble, in spite of being citizens of a modern age. Let us remember how cheap and frivolous our time is, compared with many a century behind us. Let us, in spiritual things, sit at the feet of the Supreme Teacher of religious truth. The true Christian consciousness can be developed only while we lie where the beloved disciple did, in the bosom of Christ himself. In Natural Theology, Christ, as man at his climax, is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. He who lies in Christ's bosom, and he only, is fit to arrange the-theology of the future.

Duty done, the soul's fireside,  
Blest who makes its ingle wide;  
He who hath it hath no chill,  
And may have it whoso will.

Love of love, so vast its grasp,  
Only God can round it clasp  
Only He can still us quite,  
Hungering for the Infinite.

Lo, the Maker, greater He,  
Better than His works must be;  
Of the works the lowest stair  
Thought can scale, but fainteth there.

Thee, with all our strength and heart,  
God, we love for what Thou art;  
Ravished we, obedient now,  
Only, only perfect Thou!

Kant's cold categorical imperative ; Goethe's, Carlyle's Emerson's natural supernaturalism are not the highest religion to which we can aspire in the name of science. What duty is, what natural or revealed religion may become, what the theology of the better ages that beckon to us from afar is to teach can be adequately learned only while the forehead is on the bosom of Christ.

## THE POSTLUDE.

### *THE NEW CONGREGATIONAL CREED—LETTERS FROM DR. ALDEN, PROFESSOR KARR, PROFESSOR PHELPS PROFESSOR PARK, AND OTHERS.*

Mr. Cook, at the close of his lecture, took up again the subject of the New Congregational Creed, which he discussed at length on a previous occasion, and criticised severely. He enforced his expressed opinions by reading letters from Dr. Alden and Professor Karr, members of the Commission, who refused to sign the Creed, giving the reasons of their refusal and of their objections to the document as it has been put forth. These letters contain the first public statements from these gentlemen upon the subject. They are published below, together with important letters on the Creed from the Rev. Dr. Thompson, the Rev. Dr. Plumb and the Rev. Dr. Webb, of Boston ; and from Professor Park and Professor Phelps. The following is Dr. Alden's letter :

BOSTON, March 21st, 1884.

“REV. JOSEPH COOK :

“DEAR SIR,—In response to your request that I will give to the public my reasons, as one of the Creed Commission, for not authorising my name to be appended to the declaration of faith recently recommended to the Congregational churches, I enclose a copy of the letter which I sent to the Secretary of the Commission. It is as follows :

“‘MY DEAR BROTHER,—The statement of doctrine, a copy of which has been forwarded to me for signature, seems to me seriously defective in the following particulars :

“‘1. In omitting in article 1, after the words ‘one God,’ a definite recognition of his attributes and tri-unity, in some such phrase as the following : ‘infinite in all perfections, the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit.’

“‘2. In omitting in article 6 the important word ‘expiatory’ before the word ‘sacrifice.’ This, as an omission, is particularly significant, inasmuch as ‘expiatory’ is used in the Declaration of Faith of 1865.

“‘3 In [omitting in article 11, in relation to baptism of ‘believers and their children,’ after the word ‘children,’ the words ‘as a seal of the new covenant,’ some recognition of ‘the covenant’ being regarded by many of our ministers and churches as essential to their acceptance of infant baptism.

“‘4. In omitting in article 12 some phrase which will declare our belief that the issues of the final judgment are decided during the present life on earth, perhaps the following after ‘the issues of which,’ viz : ‘being determined by the deeds done in the body.’

“‘5. I am obliged to add that the ‘confession of faith’ suggested for recommendation to churches as a form of admission is also seriously deficient, as it appears to me, in what has been regarded as very important by our churches, a concise statement of the essential doctrines of our faith, including the trinity of God, the expiatory Atonement and the decisive issues of the final judgment, emphasising ‘everlasting death,’ as well as ‘everlasting life.’ These are all omitted from the confession suggested. It is also a matter worthy of consideration whether ‘resurrection of the *body*’ ‘should be retained in the creed which is required for admission to a church, when it is carefully changed to ‘resurrection of the *dead*’ in the larger creed.

“‘I understand at the meeting of the Commission at Syracuse it was voted that whatever confession should be proposed for a brief statement for a church, would be sent to every member of the Commission for suggestions and criticisms before it was adopted. It is now sent out simply to be signed or declined, with no opportunity for suggestions. It seems to me that the ordinary confessions of faith usually adopted by our churches are far superior to the one here recommended, and, if the latter should be adopted in their place, our churches have made a decided lapse backward. This is the more important to consider, as the Commission *volunteer* this recommendation as a confession of faith for local churches, and were not requested by the council to do it. To warrant this additional recommendation, therefore, the paper should be one of superior excellence, which it can hardly claim to be.

“‘I am sorry that I am obliged to write this letter, and decline to authorise my signature to the proposed ‘Statement’; but the reasons given seem to me, to compel it. I am very much mistaken, also, if, in these strictures I do not represent a large number both of ministers and members of our churches.’

“‘I will only add that in prosecuting the inquiries which led to the decision given above, I consulted a considerable number of representative brethren in the ministry in relation to what

ought properly to be included in an historic statement of the doctrinal faith of our Congregational churches; and as the result of their excellent suggestions I have prepared a revised edition of the declaration of faith, a copy of which I enclose.

“It is possible that some of the suggestions included in this revised declaration of faith may commend themselves to those who, for various reasons, will desire to amend the statement of doctrine already given to the public. It will certainly be in accordance with the spirit of our Congregational churches, should some of them prefer a more full utterance than others, in giving our public testimony to what we regard the great scriptural and historic doctrines of our faith. Let us see to it that we none of us surrender this freedom of utterance which our fathers obtained for us at a costly price; let us be sure, also, that we accord the same freedom to all our brethren, and if we must differ, as honest Christian men, decided in their own convictions, sometimes in this imperfect world must differ, let us by all means differ genially.—I remain, yours respectfully,  
“E. K. ALDEN.”

The following is the Revised Creed, accompanying Dr. Alden's letter. The italicised portions show the places in which it differs from the form recommended by the Creed Commission.

“A DECLARATION OF FAITH.

“I. We believe in one God, *infinite in all perfections, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*;

“In the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;

“In the *Only-Begotten* Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, who is of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made, and continue to exist;

“In the Holy Spirit, the Giver of life, who is sent from the Father and the Son, and who, together with the Father and the Son, is *to be worshipped and glorified*.

“II. We believe that the providence of God, by which He executes His eternal purposes in the government of the world, extends to *all persons* and all events; yet so that the freedom and responsibility of man are not impaired, and sin is the act of the creature alone.

“III. We believe that man was made in the image of God, that he might know, love, obey, and enjoy Him for ever; that our first parents, by disobedience, fell under the righteous divine condemnation; and that, *as a consequence of this apostasy*.

all *their descendants* are so alienated from God that there is no salvation from the guilt and power of sin except through God's redeeming, *regenerating and sanctifying* grace.

"IV. We believe that God, *who is Love*, would have all men return to Him ; that to this end He has made Himself known not only through the works of Nature, the course of His providence and the consciences of men, but also through supernatural revelations made especially to a chosen people, and above all, when the fullness of time was come, through Jesus Christ His Son.

"V. We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the *infallible* record of God's revelation of Himself in the work of redemption, being written by men under the special *inspiration* of the Holy Spirit ; that they are able to make wise unto salvation, and that they constitute the *only* authoritative standard by which religious teaching and human conduct are to be regulated and judged.

"VI. We believe that the love of God to sinful men has found its highest expression in the redemptive work of His Son ; who became man, uniting His divine nature with our human nature in one person ; who was tempted like other men, yet without sin ; who by his humiliation, His holy obedience, His sufferings, His *vicarious* death on the cross, and his resurrection, became a perfect Redeemer ; and whose *expiatory* sacrifice of Himself for the sins of the world declares the righteousness and compassion of God, and is the sole and sufficient ground of forgiveness and of reconciliation with Him.

"VII. We believe that Jesus Christ, after he had risen from the dead, ascended into Heaven, where, as the one mediator between God and man, he carries forward His work of saving men ; that the Holy Spirit is sent to convict of sin, and to lead to repentance and faith ; and that those who through renewing grace turn to righteousness, and trust in Jesus Christ as their Redeemer, *were chosen in him before the foundation of the world*, receive for his sake the forgiveness of their sins, and are made the children of God.

"VIII. We believe that those who are thus justified and regenerated, grow in grace through fellowship with Christ, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and obedience to the truth ; that a holy life is the certain fruit and indispensable evidence of saving faith ; and that the believer's continuance in a holy life is *assured* by the preserving grace of God.

"IX. We believe that Jesus Christ came to establish among men the kingdom of love, righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit ; that to Jesus Christ, who is the sole head of this

kingdom, Christians are directly responsible in faith and conduct; and that to Him all have immediate access without mediatorial or priestly intervention.

"X. We believe that the spiritual Church of Christ comprises all true believers; that it is the duty of believers to associate themselves in *local and visible* churches for the confession of Christ before men, for the maintenance of worship, for the observance of the sacraments, for the promotion of spiritual growth and fellowship, and for the conversion of men; that these churches, under the guidance of the Holy Scriptures, and in *conference* with one another, may severally determine their organization, statements of belief and forms of worship, may appoint and set apart their own ministers, and should co-operate in the work which Christ has committed to them for the furtherance of the Gospel throughout the world.

"XI. We believe that Christ has appointed but two sacraments: Baptism, to be administered to believers and their children, *as a seal of the new covenant*, and a sign of cleansing from sin, of union to Christ, and of the promised gift of the Holy Spirit; and the Lord's Supper, to be administered to visible believers, *as a memorial* of His atoning death, and a means whereby He affirms and strengthens the spiritual union and communion of believers with Himself.

"XII. We believe that the Lord's Day, *the Christian Sabbath*, should be observed as a day of holy rest and worship.

"XIII. We believe that the kingdom of Christ will prevail over all the earth; and we look for the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, the resurrection of the dead, *both of the just and the unjust, the end of the world, and the final judgment, the issues of which will be determined by the deeds done in the body*; so that the wicked shall go away into everlasting punishment, and the righteous into everlasting life.

The following is the letter of Professor Karr, of the Hartford Theological Seminary, editor of the theological works of Prof. Henry B. Smith:

"HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

"March 21st, 1884.

"MR. JOSEPH COOK:

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have yours of yesterday, asking if I am at liberty to state the reasons why I did not sign the paper which has been recently presented by the Creed Commission. On inquiry I find that other members of the Commission agree with me in the impression that the transactions of the body are to be regarded as confidential. So that I cannot give any



reasons which would involve a reference to the proceedings of the Commission in their sessions.

"This much I can say, and perhaps ought to say. When the question of signing or not signing was to be met, I found myself differing from several members of the Commission on this question: How will this document be interpreted? I incline to think that a number of gentlemen supposed it would be regarded as a catholic and irenic statement, made in language free from theological technicalities, of what has been commonly held by our faithful ministers and believing people. My own opinion was that it would be understood as favouring the latitudinarianism which is seeking recognition among us, rather than as simply restating, in plainer terms, what has always been received and preached in our body. Having this anticipation of what the effect of the paper would be, I could not sign it. I am told that a circular sent to members of the Commission, by Dr. Alden, giving his objections to the Creed, has come into your hands. I am free to say that all the amendments which he urged, and more, were, first or last, asked for by me. But we all understand that the final result of our work could not conform to all the views of any one member of the Commission, and, at the last, I was willing to yield my own preferences in every point save one. You will notice that certain statements in the document can be understood as comprehending what is generally held among us, but that there is in one article an *omission*, which no interpretation can supply. For example, Christ's sacrifice of Himself can be understood as a comprehensive statement of his expiatory work. So the Scripture, having been written by men who were 'under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit' can be understood to include the fact of the plenary inspiration of the Bible. But in the last article there is no assertion that the judgment will have respect to men according to the things which they have done in the body. In the present state of the public mind, I could not sign a creed which maintained silence on that point. I feel that the insertion of such a statement is required for two reasons: First, its intrinsic importance, inasmuch as a failure to assert this, *when men are denying it*, results in taking from the Bible all its strenuousness; and, secondly, its decisive influence on the interpretation of the rest of the paper, inasmuch as, with that clause included, it would be plain that the whole paper is to be understood as a catholic and irenic, but not at all as a latitudinarian document.

"But now permit me to say again that I have personal knowledge of the fact that some gentlemen who signed the

paper and who are as zealous for the truth of the Gospel as any of us can be, accepted the whole as it stands, in the belief that it could not be misunderstood.

"Faithfully yours,  
"W. S. KARR."

The Rev. Dr. A. C. Thompson, of Boston, writes :

"No. 1, Linwood-street, Boston,  
"March 21st, 1884.

"REV. JOSEPH COOK :

"DEAR SIR,—In reply to your favour just received, asking a brief opinion regarding the new Congregational Creed, I would say that as concerns human depravity, the Divine purposes, the Trinity, and the Atonement, this document seems to me to be less in accord with the Word of God than the average existing creeds of our churches; while it leaves the door open for anyone to hold and teach the unscriptural and dangerous dogma of probation after death. Hence, whatever its excellences in other respects, I should regret to hear of its being adopted by any church.

"Very truly yours,  
"A. C. THOMPSON."

The Rev. Dr. A. H. Plumb wrote as follows :

"92, Seaver-street, Roxbury, Boston, Mass.,  
"March 24th, 1884.

"REV. JOSEPH COOK :

"MY DEAR SIR,—The New Creed is far more explicitly orthodox than some of the 'New Departure' men would write. Leading journals can no longer say endless punishment is not now taught by the denomination.

"The omissions and ambiguities of the statement, however, on depravity, inspiration, atonement, and second probation yield too much to the demands of an inconsiderable faction.

"The reasons why so many of our best men have signed it, or on the whole approved it, seem to me to be :

"1. Its ambiguities on Inspiration, Atonement, etc, they can interpret in a free orthodox sense.

"2. Its omissions they consent to for the sake of peace, because, while they have no sympathy whatever with 'New Departure' views, they are willing to be silent concerning them, thinking they will soon die out, unaware, apparently of the vigour with which they are being pushed, or else strangely apathetic to the fact.

"Doubtless, many of them would prefer and would gladly

sign a more explicit creed, especially if they should see that, under this one, men go on teaching that there may be a second probation from death to the judgment, that the Bible sanctions moral wrong, that the apostles sometimes taught error, that Christ was, perhaps, mistaken in some of his statements, and that he did not know that the Old Testament, which he commended, was unworthy of trust.

"The churches loathe such teaching.

"We can have a better creed, and it would command a wider and more hearty assent.

"Respectfully,

A. H. PLUMB."

The Rev. Dr. E. B. Webb wrote as follows :

"Boston, March 21st, 1884.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,—In answer to your note let me say, I have great respect for the ability and piety, for the intellectual grasp and spiritual discernment of the brethren who have issued this Creed. But they were set, as it seems to me, to do an impossible task. How can two walk together except they be agreed? How can opinions which differ fundamentally be brought into a living unity?

"It cannot be offensive to these brethren if I say what I believe, that this document does not express the real belief of any of them. It is not historic. It is not the expression of any one school or class. And I must add, it is not scriptural. that is, it is not a creed evolved from the inspired Word of God. A document may not be unscriptural, so far as it goes, but it may stop short of that which is essential. A few additional sentences, or words even, would change the whole aspect and spirit and tone of these twelve articles, and make them, as it seems to me, much more scriptural and vital. And I do not despair of seeing many of these brethren come out and sign a creed which will be much more full of inspired thought and sentiment, and much more closely connected with the past, and much more expressive of their own hearts.

"The very fact that men holding such different published views, united in signing the New Creed, leads me to distrust it. Even if I could not detect the composition at the first glance, I should be sure that the iron and the clay are there.

"That this document, as others have said, is up to the level of present thought, and fairly represents the aggregate unsettled belief of to-day, I do not much doubt. But my understanding of revelation, from which the creed of the Christian should be made, is that it represents God's thought. And I want something that has less of compromise and more of the direct,

incisive teaching of Jesus and of Paul and of Moses in it. I want a chart for my guidance that is made from the undisturbed observation of the fixed and steady lights of heaven, and not from a compromise of opinions.

"And then I object to such tremendous omissions; openings high and wide through which a camel, laden with a good share of the imported and improved speculations of the day, can walk erect. The very first questions which an aroused and inquiring soul would ask are not answered. I can miss many things from a sermon and not complain. But in a *standard of belief* one has a right to know whether the Atonement is 'expiatory' or *scenic*; whether 'every high priest taken from among men is *ordained for men in things pertaining to God*, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins,' or to make a governmental display. One has a right to know whether the issues of the judgment are based on the deeds done in the body or on the further trial of an after probation.

"The effect of the document, as it seems to me, will be to lower our views of sin, to make those who reject Christ and continue unrepentant feel a little easier and safer, and to encourage indifference and procrastination. And these are things which no good man wishes to do. Water needs no help to run down hill; and human nature, enervated by sin, is sure to descend low enough, without the indorsement or assistance of an emasculated creed. I do hope that the churches will not hasten to adopt this document as their creed. Let us wait a little for the sober second thought.

"Yours very truly,

"E. B. WEBB."

While reading Dr. Alden's and Professor Karr's letters, Mr. Cook stated that all the substantial points of the information they contain had been in his hands when he spoke on the Creed, March 17th; and yet that he had been accused by *The Congregationalist* of speaking then from sheer surmise and mere rumour. He was not at liberty, on the previous occasion, to make known the sources of his information. One of the members of the Creed Commission had now authorised him to say that the addition of the words, "in this present life," or "determined by the things done in the body," was suggested as an improvement of the Creed in its article in relation to the final judgment. This addition was candidly considered, and, for reasons satisfactory to the majority, respectfully declined. "This," said Mr. Cook, "is what I mean when I say these words were voted down." The same was true of other amend-

ments, which Professor Karr's letter shows that he suggested. Mr. Cook said he had no thought of accusing the Commission of using unworthy methods of securing a majority vote, although he had expressed regret that much of the discussion on the Creed was conducted by mere correspondence, and that a considerable temptation existed in some cases to strain courtesy for the sake of peace. In further reply to *The Congregationalist* of March 20th, Mr. Cook said :

"The New Creed is a landmark, chiefly because it is a landslide. The plain fact is that the majority of the Commission recommend, 'for the use of the churches,' a creed which, besides lax views on the Atonement and Inspiration, allows the teaching of future probation. All this appears on the slightest inspection of the document. To do this is a wild act for conservative and scholarly men. It gives wild joy to latitudinarians. Already it divides the denomination. I have heard one of the Commission, who signed the New Creed, say, since he signed it, that future probation is a deadly heresy. In one who takes this attitude a signature to this Creed is inexplicable. The public will lose confidence in the judgment, if it does not in the integrity, of men who thus contradict themselves.

Unsurpassed on either side the sea as a historian of Congregationalism, and as an authority on its ecclesiastical polity, the editor of *The Congregationalist* has most honourably maintained the interests of orthodoxy against the new latitudinarians who favour the hypothesis of probation after death. Funds painfully gathered and prayerfully dedicated in a better generation than ours to the support of the opposite views are now being used in the oldest theological seminary of the United States to keep in place at least two or three professors who openly favour the hypothesis of probation after death. The editor of *The Congregationalist*, at the cost of not a little personal obloquy, has manfully resisted this great mischief and wrong. Up to within a few weeks he has distinguished himself by opposing the hypothesis of probation after death as unfounded and dangerous. He now signs and recommends to the churches a creed through which any believer in future probation can drive a coach and four. Did he find that the Creed Commission was likely to dissolve because unable to agree, unless its conservative members made concessions to its latitudinarian members, on this high and sacred matter? Did he fear the public effect of such a failure to the denomination and religion? Better no deliverance from the Creed Commission than a poisoned deliverance. Did he think the new latitudinarianism a passing cloud, likely to vanish speedily? He is too close a student of current events

to be of that opinion. Did he think the Commission was appointed not to declare what the denomination ought to believe, but what they do believe? Did he think that the latter was determined merely by ascertaining in what the Commission could agree? It cannot be that so narrow a view of its duties was taken by a Commission appointed with powers to "prepare, in the form of a creed or catechism, or both, a simple, clear and comprehensive exposition of the truths of the glorious Gospel of the blessed God for the instruction and edification of our churches." Did he, as a means of keeping the Commission from dissolving without result, lay hold of the words of the Burial Bill Declaration on eschatology, and adopt them in the New Creed as a happy escape from a grave dilemma? Did he overlook the fact that the Burial Bill Declaration reaffirms great historic declarations which forbid the teaching of probation after death? Did he think that the words on eschatology from the Burial Bill Declaration would retain their meaning if separated from the reaffirmations which connect that document with the Westminster formularies? Did he think he had received their substance when he grasped only their shadow? He is too good a historical scholar to do that. Whatever his motives may have been, and not doubting that they were honourable, it is certain that he recommends to the churches a Creed which allows the teaching of second probation. On Somerset-street we seem to have a somersault editor. God grant that this may be appearance only and not reality! But the appearance needs explanation. He lately put to the friends of Constitutional Prohibition in Massachusetts three public questions. He had a right to do so. I now venture to put to him three public questions, in the answers to which all American Congregationalists would be much interested.

1. Does he deny that a believer in second or continued or future probation may sign the New Creed?

2. Does he think it wise to admit to pulpits, pews, Sunday-schools, and theological chairs all errors in religious and theological teaching that the New Creed does not repudiate?

3. If so, how does he reconcile his present position with that which he has so honourably occupied in relation to the Andover Controversy and the New Departure?

Mr. Cook also read the following letters:

"Andover, March 24th, 1884.

"MY DEAR MR. COOK,—It appears to me that the objections advanced against the new Congregational Creed are insuperable. When interpreted according to the laws of the English language

it is indefinite, and fails to include certain views of truth which ought to be made prominent, and fails to exclude certain errors which ought to be positively condemned. It will be regarded as favouring, rather than opposing, that latitudinarian theology which threatens to impair the unity and the usefulness of the Congregational churches. It is decisive enough with regard to distinctive Congregationalism in its *less* important features, but is altogether too indecisive with regard to those great truths which the historic creeds of the Congregationalists have been designed to maintain. I cannot regard the *spirit* of the New Creed as adapted to meet the needs of the present age. It seems to portend a decline in doctrinal preaching and in missionary zeal. In my opinion the general acceptance of the Creed as a denominational standard would be a calamity.

“EDWARDS A. PARK.”

“Andover, March 22nd, 1884.

“MY DEAR MR. COOK,—The following expresses, as briefly as I can put it, my view of the New Creed. It is with great reluctance that I differ from the eminent fathers and brethren who have framed it.

“A creed, designed as a *testimony* of a large body of believers, and as a *test* of the orthodoxy of its clergy, ought, in my judgment, to be framed on several principles, of which *two* are indispensable, viz. :

“First. It should conserve with extreme care all those *essential* doctrines which the faith of the Church, as expressed in preceding historic creeds, has held for ages as the truth of God. No surrender should be made of any such doctrine. No backward step should be taken for the sake of making room for novelties, or harmonising varieties of opinion.

“Secondly. The creed should be eminently a creed of the time, and for its time, in the courage with which it opposes those errors which threaten the faith of the Church at the period at which the creed is framed. It should resist these errors by the definiteness with which it emphasises the opposing truths. An *irenic* creed which dispenses with this *polemic* outlook can never be *timely*. There is never a time when truth is not threatened by errors peculiar to the age. A creed which ignores them invites them.

“Tested by these principles, the Creed now offered for our adoption seems to me defective. I do not find in it, in sufficient force, either the conservative element, as related to the past, or the aggressive element, as related to the present. The Church has held, for ages, certain beliefs respecting the Word

of God, the Atonement, and eternal retribution, which appear to me *essential* beliefs. The great confessions of the past have so regarded them. They have been gained at great cost. Yet some of these beliefs this Creed ignores. Its deliverance on those three doctrines, therefore, is weak. So far, we suffer a positive and lamentable loss. The opponents of our faith reasonably welcome it as their gain.

“Further, on those three doctrines errors are afloat at present which are disastrous in their tendency, yet fascinating to the natural heart. If generally accepted they must enervate the Gospel as a working force in our pulpits. Those errors this confession by its reticence tolerates, and so far encourages. In this respect it fails to defend the faith of the time against the errors of the time. As a whole, it seems to me to express an amiable desire to harmonize numbers, and to make room for varieties, rather than a stout purpose to vindicate truth and to resist falsehood.

“The times appear to me to call for a creed made of more positive material, and wielded with a more aggressive aim. Never, in the years that have passed under my observation, has there been a time when a really powerful confession of our faith could have done so much good, or a weak one so much evil as now.

“Yours truly,

“AUSTIN PHELPS.”



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